

THE
FIRST PART
OF
THE LIFE AND
raigne of King *Henrie*
the IIII.

Extending to the end of the first
yeare of his raigne.

Written by I. H.



Imprinted at London by Iohn Wolfe, and
are to be sold at his shop in Popes head Alley,
neere to the Exchange. 1599.

THE JOURNAL OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF MEDICINE

VOLUME 10

PART I

1917

LONDON

W. B. SAUNDERS

12, NEW YORK

Printed and Published by W. B. Saunders
at the University Press, Cambridge
and at the University Press, New York

Illustrissimo & honoratissimo Roberto Comiti Essexiae & Ewe, Comiti Marefcallo Angliae, Vicecomiti Herefordiae & Bourchier: Baroni Ferrarise de Chartley, Domino Bourchier & Louein: Regiae Maiestati Hypothecario: Machinarum bellicarum praefecto: Academia Cantabrigiae Cancellario: ordinis Georgiani Equiti aurato: Serenissime Domino Reginae a sanctioribus consilijs: Domino meo plurimum obsequando.



Πίστις καὶ γνησιότης: optimo & Nobilissimo (inquit Euripides) ex qua sententia tu primus ac solus fere occurrebas Illustrissime comes Teuius nomen si Henrici nostri fronte radiaret, ipse & letior & tutior in vulgus prodiret. Magnus siquidem es, & praesentis iudicio, & futuri temporis expectatione: in quo, veluti recuperasse nunc oculos, caeca prius fortuna videri potest; Dum cumulare honoribus cum gestis, qui omnibus virtutibus est insignitus. Hunc igitur si laeta fronte excipere digneris, sub nominis tui umbra (tanquam sub Aiaceis clipeo Teucer ille Homericus) tutissime latebit. Deus opt. max. celsitudinem tuam nobis, rei publicae diu seruet incolumem: quo nos vix tam fide quam armis potenti tua dextera defensi, vltique, diutina cum securitate tum gloria perfruemur.

Honori tuo deditissimus,

L. HAYWARD.

Fautes escaped in the Printing

Page.	Line.	Fault.	Read.
11	23	played	plyed
15	13	pleaseth	please
16	20	present	presents
19	22	sport	fort
19	24	tempored	tempered
37	10	weedlesse	needlesse
41	18	cause	fame
43	13	too	two
44	13	in reporting	to reporting
53	08	moued	enforced
55	04	this	his
55	05	challenged	challenging
57	27	else	or else
61	30	caried	carry
70	13	kenry	kenry
71	35	<i>Bush</i>	<i>Bushie</i>
71	05	officers of so long	offers of so large
71	12	Castell Trim	Castell of Trim
75	32	of the one,	by the one,
77	32	at men	to men
79	25	increased	incensed
86	13	<i>Thirninges</i>	<i>Thirninges</i>
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A. P. to the Reader.



Mong all sortes of humane writers, there is none that haue done more profit, or deserued greater prayse, then they who haue committed to faithfull records of Histories, cyther the gouernment of mighty states, or the liues and actes of famous men: for by describing the order and passages of these two, and what euents hath followed what counsailes, they haue set forth vnto vs, not onely precepts, but liuely patterns, both for priuate directions and for affayres of state: whereby in short time young men may be instructed, and old men more fully furnished with experience then the longest age of man can affoorde. And therefore *Cicero* reporteth that *L. Lucullus*, when he went from Rome to make warre against *Mithridates*, was altogether vnskilfull in Militarie seruices: yet in the time of his Nauigation he so exercised himselfe what with conference, and what with reading of histories, that when hee came into Asia, by the iudgement and confession of that great King, hee was preferred before all the commaunders that were before him. Heerevpon when *Alexander Severus* did deliberate of anye weightie matter, hee would especiallye take aduise of men

To the Reader.

skilfull in histories, and not without good cause: for if (as *Africanus* saith) experience hath begot Wisedome, and Memory as a mother hath brought it forth; who are to be better accompted then they whose memory is as it were a rich storehouse, of the experiences not of one age or Country, but of all times and of all nations. And therefore it is no great maruaile that *Zenobia*, who after the death of her husband *Odonatus* tooke vpon her the state, not onely insulted vpon the Romaines, but held the Arabians, the Saricenes, the Armenians, and other fierce and intractible people, in such obedience, that although shee were both a woman and a Barbarian, yet they neuer stirred against her: for she had perfectly read the Romaine history in Greeke, and also had herselfe abridged the Alexandrian and all the Orientall histories, whereby she attained the highest pitch both of Wisedome and authority: for examples are of greater force to stir vnto vertue, then bare preceptes, inso-much as *Cicero* said that nothing could be taught well without example. Therefore the Lacedemoians (as *Plutarch* writeth) did vse vpon feastiuall dayes to present vnto theyr Sons certayne drunken slaues whom they called *Ualetes*: that by view of the vice they might learne to auoyde it, and *Hysmenias* the Thebane, would shew to his Schollers musicians of all sortes good and bad, instructing them to followe the one and not the other. And this is that which the *Apology* telleth of a certaine Country woman, who being hard fauoured, and fearing least shee should bring forth children like her selfe, got many faire and beautifull Pictures, which shee did dayly and stedfastly beholde: the meaning whereof is, that by setting before vs the actes and liues of excellent men, it is the readiest way to fashion our qualities according to the same.

Heereupon *Cicero* doeth rightly call history the witnessse of times, the light of truth, the life of memory, and the messenger

To the Reader.

messenger of antiquity. Heereby wee are armed against all the rage and rashnesse of Fortune: and heereby wee may seeme. (in regarde of the knowledge of thinges) to haue trauelled in all Countreyes, to haue liued in all ages, and to haue been conuersant in all affayres. Neyther is that the least benefit of history, that it preserueth eternally, both the glory of good men, and shame of euill. Some Philosophers doe deny, that glory is to be desired: for vertue (say they) is a reward vnto it selfe, and must not be respected for the vaine and titulare blastes of glory: yet in wryting these things, they affect that especially, which they especially depraue. And indeed there is no man hath so horny hartstrings, (as *Perfius* speaketh) who is not tickled with some pleasure of praise: againe there is no man of so flinty a forehead, who is not touched with some feare of infamy and shame. Doe we thinke that the valiant souldier thinketh no toyle too tough, but boldly aduentureth the hazard of all happes, because he is weary of his life? death cometh by nature to all men alike, onely with difference of memory with posterity.

And I would thinke that Citties at the first were builded, lawes made, and many thinges inuented for the vse of men, chiefly for desire of glory: which humour except the old gouernours of common wealths, had thought necessary, they would neuer haue fostered it as they did, with Garlandes, statues, trophies and triumphes, in which notwithstanding it is but temporary and shorie; but in Histories of worth it is onely perpetual. This *Cicero* perceiuing he dealt with *Luceius* to commit his actions to the monuments of his writings: and *Plinie* the yonger did wish that he might bee mentioned in the histories of *Cornelius Tacitus*, because he did foresee that they should neuer decay.

But these are such as are not led away with a lust, eyther to flatter or to deface, whereby the creadite of historie is quite overthrowne. Yet the endeuour to curry fauour

To the Reader.

is more easily disliked, as bearing with it an open note of servility, and therefore *Alexander* when he heard *Aristobulus* read many things that he had written of him farre above truth, as he was saying the fould *Hidaspis*, he threw the booke into the River, and sayd that hee was almost mooved to send *Aristobulus* after for his servile dealing: but envious carping carieth a counterfeite shew of liberty, and thereby findeth the better acceptance.

And since I am entred into this point, it may seeme not impertinent to write of the stile of a history, what beginning, what continuance, and what meane is to be vsed in all matter; what thinges are to bee suppressed, what lightly touched, and what to be treated at large: how credit may be won, and suspicion avoyded: what is to bee observed in the order of times, and discription of places and other such circumstances of weight; what liberty a writer may vse in framing speeches, and in declaring the causes, counsailes and euentcs of thinges done: how farre he must bend himselfe to profit: and when and how he may play vpon pleasure, but this were too large a field to enter into: therefore least I should run into the fault of the *Mindians*, who made their gates wider then their towne, I will here close vp; onely wishing that all our English histories were drawne out of the drosse of rude and barbarous Eng-

lish: that by pleasure in reading them, the
profit in knowing them, myght
more easily bee at-
tayned.



THE
FIRST PARTE
OF THE LIFE AND
RAIGNE OF KING

Henry the fourth.

Extending to the end of the first
yeere of his raigne.

He noble and victorious

HENRY the third, had
his fortunate gift of a long & prosper-
ous raigne over this realme of Eng-
land; much strengthened and ador-
ned by nature's supply of seven good-
ly sonnes. The eldest sonne,
prince of Wales, commonly called
the Blacke Prince: *William* of Hatfield: *Lyonel*, Duke of
Clarence: *John* of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster: *Edmond* of
Langley, Duke of Yorke: *Thomas* of Woodstocke, Duke of
Gloucester: and *William* of Windfore. These sonnes, dur-
ing the life of their renowned Father, were such ornaments
and such stayes to his estate, as seemed no greater could be
annexed thereunto. For neither armes, nor strong holdes
are so great defences to a prince, as the multitude of children:

The life and Raigne of

Forces may decay, and forces decrease, and both decline and fall away, eyther by varietie of fortune, or inconstancie of mens desires: but a mans owne blood cleaueth close vnto him; not so much in the blisses of prosperitie, which are equally imparted to others, as in the crosses of calamity, which touch none so neere, as those that are neerest by nature. But in succeeding times they became in their offspring, the seminaries of diuision and discord, to the utter ruine of their families, and great wast and weakning of the whole Realme: for they that haue equall dignitie of birth and blood, can hardly stoop to termes of soueraignie, but upon euery offer of occasion will aspire to indure, rather an equall then any superiour, and for the most part, the hatred of those that are neerest in kinde, is most dispirefull & deadly if it once breake forth. The feare of this humor caused *Romulus*, to embrewe the foundations of the Cittie and Empire of Rome, with the blood of his brother *Ramus*. According to which example, the tyrants of Turkie; those burchens of Sathan, doe commonly at this day beginne their raigne, with the death and slaughter of all their brethren.

Prince *Edward*, the fourth sonne of *Henry* in his time, dyed during the life of his father. And although he was cut off in the middle course, and principall strength of his age, yet in respect of honour and fame he liued with the longest, having in all parts fulfilled the measure of his Nobilitie. He left behinde him a young sonne called *Richard*, who after the death of King *Edward*, was Crowned King in his stead, and afterward died childlesse.

William of Hatfield king *Edward*'s second sonne, dyed also without issue, leauing no other memorie of his name, but the mention onely.

Lionel Duke of Clarence, the third sonne of King *Edward*, was a man of comely personage, of speech and pace stately, in other qualities of a middle temperature, neither to bee admired nor contemned, as rather voide of ill parts, then

K. *Henrie the fourth.*

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then furnished with good He had issue *Philip* his only daughter, who was ioyned in marriage to *Edmund Mortimer*, Earle of March: Who in the Parliament holden in the eight yeare of the Reigne of King *Richard*, was in the right of his wife, declared heire apparant to the Crowne, in case the King should die without children: but six many yeares after hee dyed, leaving issue by the said *Philip*, *Roger Mortimer* Earle of March. This *Roger* was slain in the rude and tumultuous warres of Ireland, and had issue *Edmund*, *Anne*, and *Eleanor*. *Edmund* and *Eleanor* dyed without issue. *Anne* was married to *Richard* Earle of Cambridge, sonne to *Edmund of Langley* Duke of Yorke, the fifth sonne of King *Edward*. Of these two, came *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of Yorke who by the right devolved to him from his mother, made open claime to the Crowne of England, (which was then possessed by the family of Lancaster first by law, in the Parliament holden the thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of King *Henrie* the sixth: where either by right, or by favour, his cause had such furtherance, that after King *Henrie* should die, the Crowne was entayled to him, and to the heires of his blood for ever: But the Duke impatient to linger in hope, chose rather to endure any daunger then such delays: Whereupon he entred into armes soone after, against King *Henrie* in the field. But being carried further by courage, then by force hee could beare through, hee was slain at the battaile of Wakefield, and left his title to *Edmund* his eldest sonne: who with invincible peristance did prosecute the enterprise, and after great varietie of fortune at the last achieved it.

John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, the fourth Sonne of King *Edward* the third, was a man of high and hardie spirit, but his fortune was many times not answerable, either to his force or to his forecast. He had two sonnes, *Henrie* Earle of Derby (of whome I purpose chiefly to treat) and *John* Earle of Somerset. This *John* was Father to *John* Duke of Somerset,

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who had issue *Margaret*; Countesse of Richmond, mother to the noble Prince, *Henry* the seventh.
Henry Plantagenet Earle of Derby, was likewise by his mother *Blanch*, extracted from the blood of Kings, being descended from *Edmund*, the second sonne of King *Henry* the third: by which line the Duchie of Lancaster did accree unto his house. Hee was a man of meane stature, well proportioned, and formally compact: of good strength and agilitie of body, skilfull in armes, and of a ready dispatch in yndly shewing himselfe both earnest and advised in all his actions. Hee was quicke and present in conceit; forward in attempt, courageous in execution, and most times fortunate in event. There was no great place of employement and charge, which hee would not rather affect for glory, than refuse either for penie, or for paines; and in service hee often proved himselfe not onely a skilfull commander by giving directions: but also a good soldier in using his weapon, adventuring further in perils sometimes, then words would permit: his expenses were liberall and boundlesse; yet not exceeding the measure of his revenues, he was very courteous and familiar respectively towards all men; whereby hee procured great reputation and regarde, especially with those of the meaner sort: for high humilitie takeeth such deepe roote in the mindes of the multitude, that they are more strongly drawne by unprofitable vntilities, then by hurtfull benefits. In all the changes of his estate, he was almost one and the same man: in adversity hee neuer changed, in prosperitie never secant; retaining still his maiestie in the one, and his mildnes in the other: neither did the continuance of his Raigne bring him to a proude port and statefully esteeming of himselfe, but in his latter yeeres he remained in gentle & faire behauiour; that thereby chiefly hee did winne our the heart that was borne him, for the death of King *Richard*. He could not lightly be drawne into any cause, & was fustie & constant in a good: Yet more easie

King Henry the fourth.

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colbre either corrupted or abused by flattering speeches, then to be reformed by the same. To some men he seemed toos greedy of glorie, making small difference of the meanes whereby he attained it; and in dede this humour in noble minds is most hardly to be ruled, and oftentimes it draweth even the wisest away. But before I proceede any further in describing either the qualities, or actes of this Eagle, I must write something of the Reigne of King Richard the second, his cousin germane: so farre forth as the follies of the one, were either causes or furtherances of the fortunes of the other.

Richard sonne to Edward Prince of Wales, a little before the death of King Edward the thirde, Crowned King over this Realme of England, in the blacke yere of this age, in which yeres the world of man is white to the power of death, apt to be wrought into any fashion, and which way so ever it hardeneth by custome, it will sooner breake then bend from the same. Now the governance of the King at the first was committed to certaine Bishops, Barons, Barons, and Officers: But at her upon, nobles to discourage the King, or negligence to discharge their duty, therefore were more ready with pleasure to consue to delight him then with profitable counsaile to doe him good: So smooth and pleasing speeches neede small endevour, and alwaies findeth fauour: whereas to aduise that which is meete, is a point of some paines, and many times a thanklesse office. Henry upon two dangerous calls did call; firste the Duke of Hereford, and private respects did passe vnder publicke presence.

In the thirde yere of his Reigne, it was thought meete that this charge should be committed to one man, to auoid thereby the vnecessary wast of the treasure of the Realme, by allowing yearly stipend vnto many. So by the whole consent of the nobilitie and commons assembled together in Parliament, this office was deputed to Lord Thomas Beauchampe, Earle of Warwick, and a competent pension was assigned him, out of the Kings Exchequer for his paynes.

But the King being now plunged in pleasure, did industriously bend himselfe to the favouring and advancing of certaine persons, which were both reprobable in life, and generally abhorred in all the Realme, and this was the cause of two great inconveniencies: for many yong nobles, men and braue Courtiers, having a nimble eye to the private favours and dislikes of the King, gave over themselves, to a dissolute and dishonest life, which findeth some followers when it findeth no furtherance, much more when it draweth flourish and thriue: the King also by favouring these, was himselfe little favoured and loved of many: for it is oftentimes as dangerous to a Prince, to haue euill and odious adherents, as to be euill and odious himselfe. The number of these men were *Alexander Nevill*, Archbishop of York; *Robert Curie*, Earle of Oxford; *Michael De la Pole*, afterwards Earle of Suffolk; *Robert Trilliane*, Lord chiefe Iustice, *Nicholas Brame*, Alderman of London; and certaine others, of no eminencie either by birth or descent, but obsequious and pliable to the Kings youthfull humour. These were highly in credit with the King: these were shewes next vnto him, both in companie and counsell: by these he ordered his private actions: by these he managed his affaires of state: he spared neither the dignitie nor death of any man, whose authority and life, withstoode their prettment. In so much as in the fifth yeare of his Raigne, he removed *Sir Richard Scrope*, from being Lord Chanceteller of England (to which office he was by authoritie of Parliament appointed) because he refused to set the great Seale, to the graunt of certaine lands, which had wantonly passed from the King: alleaging for his denial, the great debts of the King, and small demerites of the parties, vpon whom the King might cast away and consume, but spend in good order he could not: aduertising him also to haue respect, that ryote did not deceiue him vnder the rearme and shewe of liberalitie: and that gifts well ordered procure not so much loue, as placed without discretion, they

floure

stare every. This Chancellor was a man of notable integrity and diligence in his office, not scornfully turning away from the ragged coat of a poore suppliant, or pale face of a sickely & feeble limped later, holding vp their simple soiled billes of complaint; not yett smothering his compassion with partial maintaining of such as were mighty; but beinge able to all, he was loone disliked of those that were bold.

In the eight yere of this kinges reigne, the destruction of the duke of Lancaster was intended likewise upon the like dislike: the plot was layed by Justice Trissil, offences were devised, appellours appointed, and betrennment d; he should have bene picke out most faithfully, and soothly with exacting, coade winch, and execution. But the duke upon perceiving intelligence of these continuances, fled to his castle at Pontefret, and there made preparation for his defence against the king. So this matter began to grow to a head of division, which the common people at that time very busily desired and fought; but the kings mother counselling inct family betweene the king and the duke (which was a thing that was both unpolitic & unwise) biloured them both to perdition: she king; with regard of the dangerous and discontented times: the duke with respect of his duty and faith: and so partly by her entreaty and advise, partly by their inclination bending to the false counseil, all apparancy of displeasure on the one part, and dislike on the other, was for that time layed aside.

The fower yere Michael Dolepore was made Chancellor of England, and created earle of Suffolke: and Robert Wiers earle of Oxford was created Marquess of Doblone, being the first man within this realme that was enobled with that title: But as they grew in honour, so fell theis hartes; for many noblemen did infinitely stricke their undeserved advancements, and with these the favour of the people generally went: but the kings intemperate affection was per-

unproportion, and violent not regarding any, until he could not resist it: was a grievous will, most ion, possio zin ni consilium huc

The yeere next following, Robert Kerr the new Marques was created Duke of Ireland. Thier ere the knight and burgesses of Parliament paid a private complaint against the Earle of Suffolk, vpon which they set a bill in law for a trial: namely, that he had abused the King in taking of him to further all the profits & revenues of the crowne, that wauously he wasted the treasure of the land in riotous liberalitie, and vnnecessary charges: how deepe he had diued into the Kings debt: how carelesse and careless he was in his office: how easily he had both doubted and discouered the King in a way of dealing, and reckoning particularly disposed with those other impositions touching the honor and noblesse, both in private debts, and in office. Thier tale was a merchants tale in London, and growing mighty on the sudden, he could not imagine himself in the charge: but was shortly by the throner chosen knight of his shire, which were suspected: and clank, and clank, and feeling a weaker ruler in the sphere, with small funds, he made long use of his power in the north. Verbe the King was willing, either secretly to dissemble, or openly to strike those offenders: but he passed them over with a slender audience (as his name was in matter of power, weight) and with his own mind in the matter, he made no further in the matter, yea well pleased with the complaint. Afterwards, a Suffolk was required: but answer was made that this needed not, since the Kings warrs might be furnished with the debts which were owing him from his Chancellours, neither was it to any purpose, to long in the matter, should be ordered by such persons: before it had beene blind, as thence was like. Then the matter began in the Chancery, where the Chancellor and the King persuaded that it was better to hope in the matter, to beare him out, than to private again, it was sufficient if themselves

K. Henrie the fourth. 9

clues abstaine from wrong, but a prince must provide that none do wrong vnder him: for by mainteining, or wincking at the vices of his officers, he maketh them his owne, and shal surely be charged therewith when first occasion doth serue against him. At the last, vpon instant importunity of both houses, the king did consent, that a commission should goe forth to certaine noble men, giuing them authority to heare and determine all matters which were objected against the L. Chancellour: and then was a Subsidie graunted, with exception, that the money should be expended by the Lords, to the benefit and behalfe of the realme. The king did further demaund, that the heires of *Charles Bloys*, who made claime to the duchy of Britaine, should be sold to the French men for thirty thousand marks, and the money granted to the duke of Ireland, for recovery of those possessions which the king had giuen him in Ireland: this was likewise assented vnto, vpon condition, that before Easter then next ensuing, the duke should depart into Ireland, and there remaine: at so high a price did they value the riddance of him out of the realme.

The charge of the Subsidie money was committed to *Richard* earle of Arundell, Commissioners for the earle of Suffolke, were appointed, *Thomas* duke of Glocester the kings vnckle, and the sayd earle of Arundell: but during the time of their proceeding, the king kept all off, in places farre distant: either to manifest thereby the dissent of his minde, or to auoid the griefe which his neerenesse would increase. And now was the Chancellour left vnto himselfe, to answer to those demeanures, wherein he made the kings blinde fauour his priuiledge and protection, supposing neuer to see the same either altered or ouer-ruled. In the end, being conuict of many crimes and abuses, he was deposed from his office, his goods were confiscated to the kings Exchequer, & himselfe was adiudged woorthy of death: Yet was execution submitted to the kings pleasure, and vnder sureties he was

permitted to goe at large. At the same time *John Fogard* Bishop of Duresme, another of the Kings dainties, was removed also from being Lord Treasurer of England, he was a man of little depth, either in learning or wisdom, but one that had the Arte of seeming, in making the best shewe of whatsoeuer he spake or did: and rising from meane estate to so high a pitch of honour, hee exercised the more excelsiue his rype, auarice and ambition, not able to moderate the lustes and desires which former want had kindled.

When this businesse was blowne ouer, the King returned againe to London, and did presently receiue the Earle of Suffolke, with the Duke of Ireland, and the Archbishop of Yorke, to greater grace and familiaritie then at any time before. These *Triummers* did not cease to stirre vp the Kings stomake against those Noble men, whose speciall excellencie had made matter of fame and regarde: partly for the disgraces which they had receiued, partly vpon malicious emulation, to see the other so fauoured, and themselves so odious, and that their priuate choller and ambition might beare some shewe of publike respect, they suggested vnto the King, that he was but halfe, yea not halfe a King in his owne Realme, but rather the shadow and picture of a King: for if we respect (sayd they) matters of state, you beare the sword, but they sway it, you haue the shewe, but they the authority of a Prince, vsing your name as a colour and countenance to their proceedings, and your person as a cypher, to make them great, and be your selfe nothing. Looke to the dntie of your subiectes, and it is at their deuotion: so that you can neither commaunde nor demaunde any thing, but with such exceptions and limitations as they please to impose, come now to your priuate actions: your liberalitie (the greatest vertue in a prince) is restrained, your expences measured, and your affections confined, to frowne and fauour as they doe prescribe. What Ward is so much vnder government of his Gardian? Wherein will they next, or can they
more

more abridge you? Except they should take from you the place, as they haue done the power of a Prince: and in this we thinke, they may iustly be feared, hauing so great might ioynd with so great aspiring mindes. For power is neuer safe when it doth exceede: & ambition is like the Crocodile, which groweth so long as he liueth; or like the Iuie, which fastning on the foote of the tallest Tower, by small, yet continuall rising, at length will climbe about the toppe, it is already growne from a sparke to a flaine, from a twigge to a tree, and high time it is that the encrease were stayed: oftentimes such ouer-ruling of Princes haue proceeded to their ouerthrowing, and such cutting them short hath turned to cutting them off; their mindes are suspitious, their power dangerous, and therefore the opportunitie must bee prevented.

The Kings owne weaknesse made him apprehensiu, and framed his mind to a vaine, and needlesse feare: but chiefly he was moued at the remoouing of his Chancellour and Treasurer out of their offices, and of the Duke of Ireland out of the Realme, supposing it a restraint to his princely power, that he might not absolutely and in things giue or forgiue as his pleasure serued. When these priue incensers perceiued the Kings humour once sharpened, they so played him with plausible perswasions, that (although he was naturally of no cruell disposition, as wanting courage) yet they drew him to many violent and indirect courses, partly vpon negligence to search out the truth, partly vpon delight to bee flattered and smoothly vsed, neither did they long deferre their deuises: and first it was appointed, that the Duke of Gloucester and certaine others of that part, should be invited to a supper within London, & there suddainely surpris'd and made away. Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, who the yere before had beene Mayor of London, and in whome abundance of wealth supplied the want of honest qualities, was a busie agent in this butcherly businesse: but *Richard Extone* the Mayor of the:

Cittie that yeare, discovered the practise by whome the Duke was warned both to auoide the present perill, and afterwards to be warie of the like.

The yeare next following, *Richard* Earle of Arundel, and *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of Nottingham, had the conduct of a Naue committed to their charge: in this viage they tooke aboute a hundred sayle of the enemies ships, fraughted with Wines, and well appointed for fight: they also relieved and fortified Brest, and tooke two fortes which the Frenchmen had raised against it. The Earles so behaued themselves in this seruice, that they grew to a verie great estimation, both for curtesie among their Souldiers, and for courage against their enemies; & their actions were the more famous, by reason of the infortunate insufficiencie of other Comanders, by whose either rashnesse or cowardise many good Souldiers were dayly defeated, and euery yeare made notorious by one losse or other. Yet notwithstanding all their good labour and lucke, they were at there tyme, enertained by the King, with great straungnes, both of countenance and speech. Who was so vnable to dissemble his dispiht, that he could hardly deferre it, vntill the heate of the honour and loue which they had wonne, were somewhat abated. So much are men more inclinable to reuenge displeasure then rewarde desert: for it is troublesome to bee gratefull, and many times chargeable: but reuenge is pleasant, and preferred before gaine.

About the same time, *Robert* Duke of Ireland forsooke the companie of his lawfull wife, whose mother Lady *Isabel* was daughter to King *Edward* the third, and in steede of her he tooke vnto him a base Bohemian, a Tauerners daughter. The King little regarded this indignitie done vnto his cosin, and in so great confusion of the state, let it passe vnreprooued, as ouershadowed with greater vices, but the Duke of Gloucester her vncle, tooke it in high disdaine, as iniurious to the royall bloud, and did attend vpon occasion to worke reuenge

revenge, this was not secrete from the Duke of Irelande, who likewise bent al his deuises to bring the Duke of Gloucester to his ouerthrow. The Duke of Gloucester did prosecute this enmitie, openly and manlike: the Duke of Irelande closely, and therefore the more daungerously. The Duke of Gloucester was greater in bloud, the Duke of Irelande in fauour: he being Vncle to the King, this bearing himselfe as the Kings fellow. The Duke of Gloucester pretended for the state, the Duke of Irelande for the King: and much priuate mallice did passe vnder these publike shewes: but in opposition of such equall powers, there is many times final difference in harme.

And now was Easter past, the tearme assigned to Duke Robert *Peere* for his departure into Ireland: and least his stay might breede some stirre within the Realme, hee still busied himselfe in preparation for his iourne, and at last (although it were long) made a solemne shew offsetting forth. The King went in great state to accompanie him to his shipping: and the Earle of Suffolke, with Iustice *Tressiluar*, and the residue of that faction, either for fauour followed, or for feare durst not stay behinde. So they passed together into Wales, and (whether vpon leuitie the Kings mind changed, or whether it was so contriued at the first to drawe themselves more seperate from the Lords) there the Dukes iourne was at an ende. Then they entred into counsell, which way the Lords might best be suppressed: many deuises were deeply debated, all pleased without respect either of danger or disgrace: but few stooode with likelyhoode of euent to their desires, and therefore none was finally concluded. After long time thus friuolously spent, they left Wales, and came to the Castle of Nottingham, where the King caused the high Shirifes of all the Shires in the Realme to be called before him, and demaunded of them, what strength they could make on his part against the Lordes, if neede shoulde require: their answer was, that the common people did so

faulour the Lords, and were so well resolved of their love & loyaltie towards the King, that it was not in their power to raise any great power against them. Then they were commaunded, that no Knights nor burgesses should afterwards bee chosen to any Parliament, but those whom it pleased the King to appoint; whereto they said, that it was a hard matter in those times of Jealousie, and suspition, to bereave the people of their ancient liberties. In choosing Knights and Burgesses for the Parliament, some few other matters being either vnreasonably required, or obtained to small end, the Sheriffs were licensed to depart. Then were assembled *Robert Trisilian*, chiefe Iustice of the Kings Bench, *Robert Bellmepe*, chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas, *John Holt*, *Roger Strilborpe*, *William Bury*, Knights and Iustices also of the Common Pleas; men learned in one rule chiefly, without difference of truth or falsehood, to please those in highest place, continuing that wisdom, which indeed was but baseness and feebleness of minde; these were charged by the King upon their faith and feigrance, to make true & full answer to those questions following.

1. First, whether the Statute ordinance and commission made and set forth the last Parliament (whereby was went the commission against *Michael De la poole Duke of Suffolke*) did derogate from the royall prerogative of the King.

2. Item, they who procured the said Statute &c. to bee made and set forth, how are they to be punished?

3. Item, how are they to be punished, who provoked the King to consent to the premises?

4. Item, what punishment have they deserved who compelled the King to consent to the said statute &c.

5. Item, how are they to be punished, who resisted or letted the King in exercising his royall power, by remitting any penalties or debts whatsoeuer.

6. Item, when a Parliament is assembled, and the affaires of
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the Barons, as the cause of assembling the Parliament, by the Kings commandement declared, and common Articles limited by the King, upon which the Lordes and commons in the said Parliament should proceed: if the Lords & commons will proceed upon other Articles, and not upon the Articles limited by the King, untill the King hath first given answer to the Articles propounded by them, notwithstanding what the contrary was enacted by the King, whether in this case the King ought to have the ruling the Parliament, and so to order the fact; that the Lordes and commons should first proceed upon the Articles limited by the King, or that they should first have answer of the King, upon the Articles propounded by them, before they proceed any further?

7 Item, whether may the King when he pleaseth dissolve the Parliament, and commaunde the Lordes and commons to depart, or no?

2 Item, since the King may at his pleasure remove any of his Officers and Iustices, and punish them for their offences: Whether may the Lordes and commons without the Kings will, accuse his Officers and Iustices in Parliament for their offences, yea, or no?

9 Item, what punishment have they deserved, who moved in Parliament, that the Statute whereby King Edward Carnarvane was deposed, should be brought forth, by which whereof, the new Statute ordinance and commission aforesaid were framed?

10 Item, whether the indictment given in the last Parliament holden at Westminster, against Michael Delapoole Duke of Suffolke, was erroneous and renuncable, yea, or no?

These questions or rather quarrelles were drawne by Iohn Blake, a Counceller at the Law, by direction of Iustice Trisilian, whilest the King made his stay in Wales: to the which the Iustices afore-named, some in discharge of their owne malice, and some to satisfie the mindes of other, made answer as followeth.

To the first, that they did derogate from the prerogative of the King, because they were against his will.

To

To the second and third : that they are to be punished by death, except it pleaseth the king to pardon them.

To the fourth and fifth : that they are worthy to be punished as traitours.

To the sixth : that whosoever resisteth the kings rule in that point, deserueth to be punished as a traitour.

To the seventh : that the king may at his pleasure dissolue the Parliament, and whosoever shall afterwards proceed, against the kings minde, as in a Parliament, he is worthy to be punished as a traitour.

To the eighth : that they can not, and whosoever doeth the contrary, he deserueth to be punished as a traitour.

To the ninth : that as well the motioner as also the bringer of the sayd statute to the Parliament, are worthy to be punished as traitours.

To the tenth, they answered: that the said iudgement seemed to them erronious and reuocable in euery part. *In witness whereof, the iustices aforesayd, with Iohn Lockton, the kings sergeant at law, haue subscribed and set their seals to the se present, &c.*

When these bloody sentences of death and treason, were vnder generall & large termes thus fastened vpon the lords, the king supposed his attempts against them, whether by violence, or by couler of law sufficiently warranted : but his power both wayes, as it was terrible against weake resistance, so against such mighty defendants it was of small force to effect that which he so much affected. Yet he did not omit his best indèuour : and first, accounting the lordes as condemned persons, he made diuision of their lands and goods among those that he fauoured. Then he waged souldiers to be in a readinesse for his assistance, and sent the earle of Northumberland to arrest the earle of Arundell, at his castle in Reygate, where he then lay. But the earle of Arundell, either vpon aduertisement, or suspicion of the kings minde, banded himselfe so strong, that when the earle of Northum-

Northumberland came vnto him, he dissembled his intent, and left his purpose vnperformed. Thus were these proceedings of the king, as now in counsell, so afterwards in euent, not much vnlike that which the Fable telleth of a certaine hunter, who first solde the skinne of the beare, and then went about to take her : but when he came within the forrest, either by vnskilfulnesse or misaduenture, he not onely missed his pray, but fell himselfe into danger of the beast.

The duke of Gloucester hauing secret intelligence of the kings displeasure and of his drift, sent the bishop of London to perswade the king to entertaine a more fauourable opinion of him : making faith to the bishop with a solemne oath, that he neuer intended any thing to the preiudice of the king, either in person or state. The Bishop not vnskilfull to ioyne profitable perswasion with honestie, declared to the king that his displeasure against the Lords was not groundēd vpon iust desert, but either vpon false suggestions of their enemies, or erroneous mistaking of some of their actions : how desirous they were of his grace and fauour : how faithfull and forward they promised to persist in all dutifull seruice : how honourable this agreement would be to the king : how profitable to the realme : and how daungerous to both, these troubles might encrease. The king seemed to giue good eare & credit to the bishops speech : but *Michael Delapoole*, a turbulent man, and against quiet counsell obstinately contentious, standing then by the king, soone stiffened his minde against all impression of friendship. Heereupon contention did arise betweene the Bishop and the Earle, and brake forth violently into heat of words. The Earle applied to the Lordes those obiections wherewith great men are vsually charged : sparing no spight of speech, and vsing all arte to aggrauate matters against them. The bishop replied that the Earle was thus fiercely bent, not vpon his owne necessity, nor loue to the king : but onely to satisfie his bloody and ambitious humour, wherein he was so immoderate, that ra-

ther then the lords should not be destroyed, he would overwhelm them with the ruines of the state, for tumults might indeed be raised by men of little courage, but must be maintained with the hazzard, and ended with the losse of the most valiant: that neither his counsell in this matter was to be followed, being the principall firebrand of the disturbance, nor his complaints against any man to be anything regarded, being himselfe a condemned person, and one that held both his life and honour at the pleasure of the king. At these words the king was exceedingly wroth, and charged the bishop with menacing & threats to auoid his presence. When the duke of Gloucester had knowledge heereof, he signified the daunger to the earles of Arundell, Warwicke, and Derby, aduising them to take armes, and vnite themselves for their common defence: for in so doubtfull and suspected peace, open warre was the onely hope of safety. These three Earles were the chiefest strength to the side, but the Duke bare the most stroke, because he was most bolde, and his greatnesse almost obscured the names of the rest. On the other side, the king thinking separate dealing the onely way to weaken a confederacy, endeuoured to preuent the lordes in ioyning of their forces: and to that end he sent a strength of men with charge, either to set vpon the earle of Arundell where he did lie, or to intercept him in his passage towards the Duke. But the Earle had traueiled all the night before their comming, and so happily escaped to Haringey parke, where he found the Duke and the other Earles with a sufficient company, as well to make attempt, as to stand vpon resistance.

When the king heard hereof, he was disturbed and distracted in minde, being now in choise either to relent or to resist, whereof he much disdained the one, and distrusted the other. His followers also were diuided in counsell: some fretting at the disgrace, and some fainting at the daunger. The Archbishop of York perswaded the king, that occasion
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was now offered to shew himsele a King indeed, if he would mustet a royall armie, and by maine might beat downe the boldnesse of this presumption. *NIHIL DICTV FACILIVS*, sayd another: *This is more readily denised, the done:* the army against vs is mighty, and the commanders are great men, both for courage and skill, and greatly fauoured of the common people: whereby that which is accompted so ready pay, may chaunce to prooue a desperate debt. Therefore it were better with some yeelding to enter into conditions of quiet, then by standing vpon high points of honour to hazard the issue of a battaile, wherein the King cannot winne without his weakning, nor loose without danger of his vndoing. There was then in presence, a certaine olde Knight, called *Sir Hugh Linne*, a good Souldier, but a very mad-cap, & one that liued chiefly vpon the liberalitie of noble men; by vaine iestes affecting the grace of a pleasant conceite: of him the King demaunded in mirth, what he thought best to be done? *Sir Hugh* swore, swownes, and snayles, let vs set vpon them, and kill euery man and mothers childe; and so we shall make riddaunce of the best friendes you haue in the Realme, this giddie answere more weighed with the King, then if it had beene spoken in graue and sober sport: and thus it often happeneth, that wisdome is the more sweetly swallowed, when it is tempored with folly, and earnest is the lesse offensiu, if it bee deliuered in iest. In the end, the deuise of rayfing armes was laide aside, not as displeasing (being so agreeable to former proceedings) but as despayring to preuaile thereby; and the Archbishop of Canterburie, with the Bishop of Ely being Lord Chaunceller, were sent vnto the Lordes, to vnderstand the cause of their assemblie: answere was made, that it was for the safetie of themselves; the honour of the King; and the ouerthrow of them which sought the ouerthrow of both. At the last it was concluded by mediation of the Bishops, that the Lordes should come before the King at Westminster, vpon promise of his protection, and

there haue audience concerning their griefes: the Bishop of Ely also making priuat faith, that he would discouer any danger that he could discric, a little before the time they should come, the Bishoppe of Ely sent word, of an awaite that was purposed to be layed for them, at a place called rhe Mewes, neere London; aduising the either to make stay, or to come prepared: but rather to make stay, least further prouocation might make reconcilment more hard, hereupon they came not at the time appointed, and the King manailing at their failance, enquired the cause of the Bishop of Ely: who answered, that the Lords found want of true meaning, & that they neither did, nor durst repose assuraunce in the Kings word, which they saw to bee vsed as a meanes to entrapc them, the King made the matter verie strange vnto him, affirming with an oath that hee was free from deceite, both in consent and knowledge: and in a great rage, he commaunded the Sherifes of London to goe to the place, and slay all those whome they found there in a waite. Whether this was but a countenance of his, or whether he was not priuie to the practise, it is not assuredly knowne, and in deede, the matter was not false, but the place mistaken: for Sir *Thomas Trinet*, and Sir *Nicholas Brambre* had assembled many armed men at Westminster, with direction to assault the Lordes at their best aduantage: but perceiuing their deceite to be discouered, they dissolued the companie, and sent them secretly away to London.

Then the Lordes, vpon new faith for their securitie, came to the King at Westminster, and yet in faith they brought securitie with them, such troupes of men, as in a place where they were so entirely fauoured, was able to defend them, in any suddaine tumult or daunger: the King vpon their coming entred into Westminster Hall, apparelled in his royall robes: and when he was placed in his seate; and had composed himselfe to maiestie and state, the Bishop of Ely Lord Chaunceller, made a long Oration to the Lordes in the
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Kings name. Wherein he declared, the heinousnesse of their offence, the greatnesse of their perill, how easie a matter it had beene for the King to haue leuied a power sufficient to distroy them; and yet for the generall spare of his subiectes bloud, and in particular fauour to the Duke and other Lords, he made choyse to encounter and ouercome them, rather by friendship then by force; and therefore was willing, not onely to pardon their ryote, but also to heare their griefes, and in a peaceable and quiet manner to redresse them. The Lordes alleaged for causes of their taking armes, first the necessitie of their owne defence; secondly, the loue both of the King and of the Realme. whose fame and fortune did dayly decline, by meanes of certayne traytors, who liued onely by the dishonours of the one, and decayes of the other, those whom they challenged for traytors, were *Robert Veere* Duke of Ireland, *Alexander Nevill* Archbishop of Yorke, *Michael Delapoule* Earle of Suffolke, *Robert Trisilane* Lord chiefe Iustice, *Sir Nicholas Brambre*, and certayne others, some what secreter, but nothing better: and to iustifie this appeal, they threw downe their gloues, and offered themselves to the triall by combat. The king replied, that often times the causes of actions being good, yet, if the meanes want moderation and iudgement, the euents prove pernicious: and therefore, though these complaints were true, yet were these courses not tollerable, which did beare an open face of rebellion, and by licentiousnesse of the multitude, might soone haue sorted to such an end: for it is more easie to raise the people, then to rule them: whose flurie once stirred, will commonly be discharged some wayes. But (sayd he) since we haue broken this broile, we will not by combatting giue occasion of a new: but at the next parliament (which he appointed should begin the third day of February then next ensuing) as well you, as they, shall be present, and iustice indifferently done vnto all. In the meane time, he tooke all parties into his protection, that none should endanger or endamage another:

*Craftino puri-
fications.*

desiring the Lordes to beare in minde, that as princes must not rule without limitation, so subiectes must vie a meane in their libertie. Then he caused the duke and the Earles, which all this time kneeled before him, to arise, and went with them into his priuate Chamber, where they talked a while, and drunke familiarly together, & afterwards, with a most friendly farwell he licenced them to depart. They of the contrarie faction were not present at this meeting, and if they had, it was thought, that the presence of the King should little haue protected them.

This act of the King was diuers waies taken: some iudged him fearefull: others moderate, rather in sparing the blood of his subiectes. The Lordes were verie ioyfull of his goodwill and fauour, which as by base or bad meanes they would not seeke, so being well gotten, they did highly esteeme. Yet they thought it the safest course, not to seperate themselves, suspecting the mutabilitie of the King, and the malice of their enemies, of whome they knewe neither where they were, nor what they did intend: and being men of great wealth, and great power, and greatly bent to hurtfull practises, they were feared not without a cause: for the Duke of Ireland, either by setting on, or sufferance of the King, was all this time mustering of Souldiours out of Cheshire and Wales, where hee gathered an armie both for number, and goodnesse of men sufficient; if another had beene generall, to haue maintained the side.

When the Lordes were aduertised hereof, they deuided themselves, & beset all the waies by which the Duke should passe to London; determining to encounter him, before he did increase his power, and countenance his actions with the puissance or name of the King. At the last he was met by the Earle of Derby, at a place called Babbelake neere to Burforde: and there the Earle put his men in array, resolving with great boldnesse to hazard the battaile, his Souldiers also were full of courage and hart, disliking nothing more then delay,

delay, as a loosing of time, and a hinderance to the victorie: but the Duke, being a man not fit for action, yet mutinous, and more apt to stirre strife, then able to stint it: vpon newes of an enemie would presently haue fled. There was then in the armie as a principall Commaunder, one Sir *Thomas Molineux*, Constable of Cheshire, a man of great wealth, and of good prooffe in seruice, vpon whose leading all that countrie did depend: he perswaded the Duke, that this was but a part of the forces that were against them, and led onely by the Earle of Derby, a man of no speciall name (at that time) among the Lordes, and if they could not beare through that resistance, it was but in vaine to attempt any great atchiuement by armes. Hereupon the Duke stayed his steps, but his faint spirits were moued by this speech, rather to desire victory then to hope it: his souldiers also were dull, silent, & sad, and such as were readier to interpret, then execute the capitaines commandement. So they ioyned battell, but scarce ten ounces of bloud was lost on both sides, before the duke of Ireland set spurres to his horse, and forsooke the field. His souldiers seeing this, threw away their vnfortunate weapons, more for indignation then for feare, ruffling their rancks, and yeelding to the Earle the honour of the field. Sir *Thomas Molineux* in flying away, was forced to take a Riuer which was neere, and as he was coming forth againe, a certaine Knight whose name was Sir *Thomas Mortimer*, pulled off his helmet, and stabbed him into the braines with his dagger. The rest submitted themselues to the discretion of the victorours, making them lords ouer their life, and death: but their yeelding was no sooner offered, then it was accepted, the Earle presently commaunding that none should be harmed, but those that did make resistance, or beare armour: the Souldiours also being willing to shew fauour towardses their countrey men, as ledde into this action, partly vpon simplicitie, partly to accompany these which came vpon feare. Then the Gentlemen were

still retained in the Earles company, the common souldiers were dispoiled of their armour onely, and so returned againe to their peaceable businesse at home. And this was the first acte whereby reputation did rise to the side, and the greatnes began, whereunto the Earle afterwards attained.

The Duke of Ireland, at the beginning of his flight, was desirous to haue passed the riuer which ranne by: and coming to a bridge, he found the same broken: from thence he posted to another bridge, which he found guarded with Archers. At the last, his fearefulnesse being feared away (as nothing maketh men more desperate vpon a doubtfull danger, then feare of that which is certaine) he aduentured to take the streame; in the midst wherof, he forsooke his horse; and swam to the other side, and so by benefit of the night escaped, and fled into Scotland: and shortly after passed the seas into Flanders, and from thence traueiled into France: where the continuall gall of his griefe soone brought his toatched life to an end. His horse was taken with his breitt-plate; his helmet and his gauntlets, whereupon it was generally supposed that he was drowned; and (as in great vncertainties it often happeneth) some affirmed that they sawe his death, which men either glad to heare, or not curious to search, did easily belecue: whether this were thus contriued of purpose, or fell so out by chance, it was a great meanes of his escape, by staying the pursute after him, which otherwise had bene made. His coach also was taken, and certaine of the Kings letters found, wherein he desired the Duke to come to London with all the power and speede hee could make, and he would be ready to die in his defence; for skilfull was he in matters of gouernement, that to pleasure a few, he regarded not the discontentment of all the rest.

The Earle of Suffolke, vpon this accident, shayed his beard, and in base and disguised attire fled to Calice, and either for feare, or for shame, neuer after returned into England: he was a cruell spoiler, and a carelesse spender, in war contemptible,

contemptible, in peace in-supportable, an enemy to all con-
saile of others and in his owne conceite obstinately conten-
tious; of a good wit, and ready speech, both which hee abu-
sed, to the cunning commending of himselfe, and crafty de-
prauing of others: he was lesse loued but better heard of
the King then the Duke of Ireland: the more hurtful man
& the more hateful: the Duke beeing charged with no great
fault: but onely the Kings excessiue fauour, in their course
of good and bad fortune, both of them were famous alike.
Also the Archbishop of Yorke, Iulius Trisiliane, and others
of that faction, ran euery man, like conies to their couerte:
Yea the king betooke himselfe to the Tower of London, and
there made prouision for his winter abode; hauing all his
courses now crossed, first rashnesse in taking armes, and af-
terwards by cowardise in maintaining them.

The Earle of Darby signified this successe to his associ-
ates by letters, yet without any vaunting or enlarging teames:
his speeches also were moderate, rather extenuating his fact
then extolling it: but by stopping his fame, it much increas-
ed when men esteemed his high thoughtes by his lowely
wordes, and his conceite in great exploits, by his contempt
of this. Then the Lords met, and marched together towards
London, whether they came vpon *S. Stephen* day; hauing
almost forty thousand men in their armie; & first they shew-
ed themselves in battaile array, in the fieldes neare vnto
the Tower, within the viewe of the King: afterwarde, they
tooke vp their lodging in the suburbs, the Maior and al-
dermen of the city came forth, and gaue liberall allowance,
of victuall to the souldiers, offering vnto the Lordes enter-
tainment within the City, but they did not accept it.

Now this discord seemed to draw to a dangerous distra-
ction of the common-wealth; the vanquished parte being full
of malice, and the conquerors of presumption: the one wan-
ting power, the other right to command and rule. The Arch-
bishop of Canterbury, and certaine others of the neutrality,

fearing the sequels, perswaded the king to come to a treaty with the lordes: but he made shewe of very light regarde of all these dealings; let them stay (saide hee) vntill they haue wearied themselves with maintaining this multitude, and then I will talke further with them. When the lordes vnderstood the drift of his deuise they beset the thames, & all other passages, and protested that they would not departe vntill they had talked with him to his face. The king hauing neyther strength to resilt, nor scope to scape, consêted to atcreaty, and to that end desired the lordes to come to him into the Tower: but they refused that place of meeting, vpon feare of false measure, vntill the king permitted them to search as diligently, and come as strongly as they thought it meete. So they came vnto the King well guarded, and after a fewe colde kindneses, and strange salutations, they laide before him, his proceedings against them at Nottingham; his letters which he sent to the duke of Ireland contrary to his worde, for the raising of armes against them: his agreement with the French King, for the yeelding vp of Callice and other strong holdes which he possessed in those parts: with diuers other pointes of dishonourable dealing and negligent gouernment. What should the King then haue said or done? all these matters were so euident and so euill, that there was no place left either for deniall or defence. Therefore ingenuously, first with silence and patience; afterwarde with teares he confessed his errors. And certainly the stiffe stomack of the lordes relented more to these luke warme drops then they would haue done to his cannon shot.

Then it was agreed, that the next day the King should meet with them at westminster, and there treat further, both of these, and other necessarie affaires of the realme. So the Duke, and the rest of the lords departed except the earle of Darby, who stayed supper with the king, and all that time stayed him in his promised purpose: but when hee was also gone, some of the secrete counsaillers, or corrupters rather, and

and abusers of the King, whistled him in the eare, that his going to Westminster was neither seemely nor safe, and would cause not onely to his person present danger and contempt, but also both abasement and abridgement to his authority afterwards. The Kings minde was soone changed; but the Lords being now stirred, and feeling the Kings hand weake to governe the bridle, became the more vehement, and sent him worde, that if hee did iofaile with them, and not come according to appointment, they would chuse another King, who shoulde haue his nobility in better regard. This peremptorie message so terrified the King, that he not onely went to Westminster, but suffered the Lords to doe there euen what they would. So they caused him much against his liking, to remooue out of the courte, *Alexander Newill*, Archbishop of Yorke, *John Foarde*, Bishop of Durisne, *Frier Thomas Rusboke*, Bishop of Chichester, the kings Confessor: Likewise they remoued the Lord *Souch*, the Lord *Haringworth*, Lord *Burnell*, Lord *Beaumont*, Sir *Alfred Keere*, Sir *Baldewine Beresford*, Sir *Richard Alderburie*, Sir *John Worth*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, & Sir *John Louell*, taking suerties for their appearace at the next Parliament. Also certaine Ladies were expelled the Court, and put vnder suerties: to wit, the Lady *Mowen*, the Lady *Moling*, and the Lady *Ponings*, which was the wife of Sir *John Woorth*. Furthermore, they arrested *Simon Burlye*, *William Elinghame*, *John Salisbury*, *Thomas Triuet*, *James Berneis*, *Nicholas Dagworth*, and *Nicholas Brambre* Knights, *Richard Clifford*, *John Lincolne*, and *Richard Motford*, *Clearkes*, *John Beauchampe* the Kings Steward, *Nicholas Lake*, Deane of the Kings Chappell: and *John Blake* counseller at the Law, all these were committed to diuers Prisons, where they were forth-comming, but not comming forth, vntill the Parliament next following.

After the feast of the Purification, the Parliament began at London, and yet the King vsed many meanes, either to dash or deferre the same) to which the Lordes came, atten-

ded with the number and strength of a full armie: vpon colour, to repressse any ryote that might happen to arise: but in truth, that by this terrour, they might draw the whole manage of affaires vnto themselves. This assembly continued vntill Whitsonside next following, with verie great feare of some men, and hope of others, and expectation of all. Here in was Iustice *Trisiliane*, by counsaile of the Lordes, against the Kings minde, condemned to bee drawne and hanged: which iudgement was presently executed vpon him: the like sentence and execution passed vpon Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, Sir *Iohn Salisbury*, Sir *Iames Barneis*, *Iohn Beauchampe*, the Kings steward, and *Iohn Blake* Esquire, who had framed the Articles, which were exhibited against the Lordes at Nottingham. Also the Iustices who gaue their iudgement concerning those Articles, *Robert Belknappe*, *Iohn Holte*, *Regger Fulthorpe*, and *William Burgh*, were condemned to perpetuall exile: and yet they did not interpose themselves, but intermeddle by constraint. Sir *Simon Burgh* was also beheaded, who was keeper of Dover Castle, and had conspired to deliuer the same vnto the Frenchmen: hee was infinitely haughrie and proude, equall to the meanest in virtue and wisdom, but in brauerie and traine inferiour to no Duke. Diuers other were either put to death, or banished, and some (as it happeneth when the reyne of furie is at large) without any great cause. The Earle of Derby furthered no mans death; but laboured verie instantly for the life and libertie of many, in so much as hoat speeches did arise betweene the Duke of Gloucester and him: whereby he purchased a fauourable opinion among those of the contrarie part, hauing caused the death of no man, but onely in the field. Then was an oath exacted of the King, to stand to the gouernment of the Lordes: and also an oath was taken of all the Subiects within the Realme, to be true and faithfull vnto the King. The king in taking this oath of the Lordes, bewrayed his inward conceite by his open countenance, looking

king pleasantly on those he fauoured, and angrily on those whome hee hated; by which vntimely discouery, hee made them more heedefull, and himselfe more hatefull: which were occasions afterwarde, both to preuente the reuenge, which he much desired, and to procure the mischiefs which hee little feared. Lastly, a subsidie was graunted: and so the King comming as it were to a capitulation with the lordes, hee to haue the name of a King, and they the authority and maiesty, the contention for that time ceased.

All this was done in the xj. yeere of the kings reigne, he being yet vnder age, and in gouernement of others. But the yeere following, he beganne to take vpon him more liberty and rule: and vpon extreame disdain, that both his pleasure and his power were by the Lords thus restrained, he did euer after beare a hard minde against them. And first he assembled them in the Councell chamber, and there demanded, of what yeeres they tooke him to be: they answered, that he was somewhat about one and twenty: then (sayd he) I am of lawfull age to haue the regiment in mine owne hand, and therefore you doe me wrong to holde me still vnder gouernement, as though the condition of a king were harder then of a subiect. This the Lords were neither willing to grant, nor able to denie, and therefore they either kept silence, or spake little to the purpose. Well (sayd the king) since I am no longer an Infant, I heere renounce your rule, and take vpon me such free administration of the Realme, as the Kings thereof, my predecessours heere tofore haue lawfully vsed. Then presently he began his Phaetons flourish, and commaunded the Bishop of Elie being L. Chancellour to resigne his seate; which the king receiued, and put vp, and therewith departed out of the chamber: but soone after he returned againe, and deliuered the same to *William Wickham* bishop of Winchester, constituting him L. Chancellour thereby. Many other officers he likewise deposed, and placed new in their roome; partly to manifest his autho-

1389

rity, and partly to satisfie his displeasure. Also he remooued the Duke of Gloucester, the Earle of Warwicke, and many others from his Priuy counsell, and tooke those in their places, which more regarded the humour of the King, but lesse his honour.

Soone after, it was suggested to the King, that the Duke of Gloucester was gathering of forces against him; but vpon examination there was found not onely no trueth, but no shew or colour of any such matter. The Duke would not quietly haue digested the rayfing of these reportes: but the King, whether vpon a generall delight, to be tickled in the eares with such tales, or vpon particular desire to haue some quarrell against the Duke, charged him to silence.

1390.

In the 13. yeare of the Raigne of King *Richard*, the Citizens of Genua desired his ayde, against the Barbarians of Africke, who with dayly incursions, infetted and spoyled all the Sea coasts & Ilands of Italy, and Fraunce, which fronted vpon the. The King sent a choise companie of Souldiers, vnder the cōduct of *Henrie* Earle of Derby; who behaued himselfe in this charge with great integriie & courage, inciting his men, the good by prayse, the bad by example rather then reproofe, as more ready to commend the vertues of the one, then to vpbraide the vices of the other. And first hee passed into Fraunce, and there ioyned himselfe to certaine French forces, appointed likewise for this seruice: then with might and minds vnited, they sayled together into Africke. At their arriual, the Barbarians were ready in armes, to keepe them from landing: but the Earle commaunded his Archers to breake through and make passage, dispising the enemye, whome he knew to be weake, and vnskilfull in seruice, and not to haue that aduantage in place, which hee had in men: the Frenchmen also sharply set in & seconded the English: and so whilest both companies contended, the one to be accounted a helpe, & the other to seeme to neede no helpe, the enemies were forced to flie, and leaue the shoare vnto the Christians

Christians. In this conflict, three Dukes of the Barbarians and about three hundred Souldiers were slaine, and in the flight, fower Dukes were taken, and a great, yet vncertaine number of common people. Then the Christians marched directly towards Tunis, the head Cittie of that Countrie. this they besieged, & in short time tooke, chiefly by the prowes of the English souldiers, who first scaled the Wals, and reared thereon the Earles banner. When they were entred the Towne, the Englishmen bent their endeuour, to the housing of their enemies, and beating downe of such as made resistance, but the Frenchmen straight waies turned to their lasciuious pleasures: so that there was presented a spectacle, both pitiful and shamelesse: in one place butchering of men, in another ryoting with women: here streames of bloud, & heapes of slaughtered bodies, hard by dissolute and licentious wantonneses in some, all the miseries of a cruell warre, and the loosenesse of a secure peace. Here were slaine and taken about fower thousand Barbarians: the Kings brother also was slaine: but the King himselfe fled into the Castle, which was strongly scited, and well fortified and furnished with men. The Christians laide siege to this Castle the space of fise weekes, during which time, they lost many of their men, yet not by sword, but by sickenesse: the Barbarians also were distressed with want of victuall, hauing but litle provision, and many vnprofitable mouthes to consume it: here-vpon they sent vnto the Christians, to desire peace, offering them a great summe of money, to depart out of their countrie: this the Christians accepted, vpon condition, that they might also freely carry with them, all their pray and prisoners; and that the Barbarians should from thenceforth surcease from making spoyle, vpon any of the coastes of Italy, or Fraunce. Thus had this voyage a prosperous and speedie end: the onely seruice (as I suppose) which the English and Frenchmen performed together, without iotte of iarre. And yet the Earle abused not the fortune of this successe, to vaine

vaunting, or brauing in words, but moderately imparted to the rest, the honour of the exploit: so by valyantly performing his charge, and sparingly speaking thereof, his glorie encreased, without bit of enuie.

1392

1393

In the fifteenth and sixteenth yeres of the reigne of King *Richard*, certaine causes of discontentment did growe, betwene the King and the Londoners, which set the fauour of the one, and the faith of the other, at great separation and distance: One was, for that the King would haue borrowed of them a thousand poundes: which they feeling much, and fearing more the Kings daily exactions, did not onely deny, but euill intreated a certaine Lumbard, who offered to lay out the money.

Another griefe was thus occasioned: One of the Bishop of Salisburys seruants, named *Romane*, meeting in Fleetstreet with a Bakers man, bearing horse-bread, tooke a loafe out of his basket: and by rude demaund of the one, and rough denial of the other, chollar so kindled betwixt the, that *Romane* brake the Bakers head. Heereupon the neighbors came forth, and would haue arrested this Bishops lusty yeoman: but he escaped, and fled to the Bishops house. The Constable followed peaceably, and demaunded a quiet deliery of the offendour: but the Bishops men shut the gates against him, that no man could come neere. Then much people flocked together, threatening to breake open the gates, and fire the house, vnlesse *Romane* were brought forth vnto them: What (sayd they) are the Bishops men priuiledged? or is his house a sanctuary? or will he protect those whom he ought to punish? if we may be shuffled off in this sort, not onely our streets, but our shoppes and our houses shall neuer be free from violence and wrong. This we will not endure: we can not: it standeth not vs in hand. Heere-with they approached the gates, and began to vse violence: but the Mayor and Shiriffes of the Citty, vpon aduertisement of this tumult, came amongst them, crying out, that it was

not

not courage, but out-rage which they shewed: wherby they would procure, both daunger to themselves and displeasure against the whole City; that although wrong had bene receiued, yet they were not the men, nor this the meanes to redresse the same: So partly by their perswasions, partly by their presence and authoritie, they repressed the riote, and sent euery man away, with streight charge to keep the peace. Here was yet no great harme done, and the quarrell might haue bene quieted without more adoe, had not the Bishop stirred therein, and kindled the coales of vni-kindnesse a fresh. For the Londoners at that time, were not onely suspected secretly, but openly noted to bee fauourers and followers of wickliffes opinions: for which cause, they were much maliced of the Bishoppes; and many of their actions interpreted, to proceed from another minde, and tend to a worse ende, then was outwardly borne in countenance and shew: and some matters of chaunce, were taken as done of purpose. Therefore the Bishop of Salisburie called *Iohn Walsbam*, who was also treasurour of England, made a grievous complaint of this attempt, to *Thomas Arundell* Archbishop of Yorke, and Lord Chancellour; affirming, that if vpon euery light pretence, the ciuezens might be suffered in this sorte to insult vpon the bishoppes, without punishment, without reproofe and blame, they woulde bring into hazard, not onely the digniry and state: but the libertie also of the whole Church: did they not lately take vpon them the punishment of adulteries, and other crimes appertaining to ecclesiasticall iurisdiction? maliciously alleaging, that the bishops and their officers, either beeing infamous for those vices themselves, did wincke at the same in others: or else by couetous commutation, did rather set them to sale, then care fully repress them. Did they not rudely and irreuerently breake open the doores vpon the Archbishop of Canterburie, and interrupte his proceedings against *Iohn Asshore*, an open follower of wickliffe? and doe we think that this is the

last indignity that they will offer? no surely, nor yet the least: and if this boldnesse be not beaten downe, our authority will fall into open contempt and scorne, and bee made a common foote-ball, for euery base citizen to spurne at. Here-vpon they went together to the King, and so incensed his displeasure against the Londoners, (beeing prepared thereto by former prouocations) that hee was in the minde to make spoyle of the city, and vterly to destroy it. But beeing perswaded to some more moderation in reuenge, first hee caused the Mayor and Shiriffes, and many of the chiefe citizens to be apprehended, and committed to diuers seuerall prisons: then hee seized all the liberties of the city into his handes, and ordained, that no Mayor shoulde any more bee elected, but that the King shoulde at his pleasure appointe a Warden and gouernour ouer the city. This office was first committed to Sir *Edward Darlington*, who for his gentlenesse towards the citizens, was shortly after remooued, and Sir *Baldwine Radington* placed in his roome. Also the King was induced, or rather seduced by the Archbishop of Yorke Lord Chauncellour, to remooue the Teames and Courtes: to witte, the Chauncery, the Exchequer, the kings bench, the hamper, and the common pleas, from London, to bee kept at Yorke, where the same continued from mid-sommer, in the yeare 1393. vntill Christmasse next following, to the great hinderance and decay of the city of London. At the last, the King vpon earnest intreaty of the Duke of Lancaster, and the Duke of Gloucester, called the Londoners before him at Windfore: where (hauing first terrified them with the presence and shewe of a greate number of armed men) hee caused all the priuiledges of the city, both olde and newe, to be brought forth, whereof he restored some, and restrained the rest: yet the Londoners were not fully receiued to fauour; neither recouered they at that time, either the person or dignity of their Mayor. Shortly after, the King went to London: at whose comming, the citizens

tizens changed all their griefe into gladnesse (as the common sorte is without measure in both) entertayning him with such ioyfull triumphes and rich presentes, as if it had beene the day of his coronation. They supposed with these great curtesies and costs to haue satisfied his displeasure; but they found themselves farre deceiued: for they were not fully restored to their liberties againe, vntill they had made fine, to pay vnto the King ten thousand poundes. Thus did the Londoners manifest in themselves, a strange diversity of disposition, both licenciously to committe offence, and patiently to endure punishment: hauing rashnesse and rage so tempered with obedience, that they were easily punished, who could not possibly bee ruled. Yet for this cause, so soone as first occasion did serue against the King, they shewed themselves, either his earnest enemies, or faint friends.

King *Richard* in the nineteene yeare of his reigne, passed the seas to Calice: the French king also came downe to Arde: betweene which two Townes, a place was appointed, and tentes erected for both the kings to meete. After large expenses on both sides, and great honour done by the one king to the other: a surcease of armes was concluded betweene them for thirtie yeares: and king *Richard* tooke to wife Lady *Isabell*, the French Kings daughter, being not aboue seuen or eight yeeres olde. The Duke of Gloucester was so offended; both with this friendship, and affinitie, that he lost all manner of patience: exclaiming, that it was more meete to be in armes, then in amitie with the French-men, who beeing inferiour to the English in courage, did alwayes ouer-reach them in craft, and being too weake for warre, did many times preuaile by peace: that now they had got into their handes many Townes and Holdes, appertaining to the crowne of England, they were willing to conclude a peace, to exclude the King thereby from his possessions: but whensoever occasion shoulde

change for their aduantage, they would be then as ready to start from the friendship, as at that present they were to strike it: that the French Kings daughter, being but a child, was very vnmeet for the marriage of King *Richard*, as well for disparitie of age, as for that the King had no issue by his first wife, and was not like to haue any by this, except (perhappes) in his olde and withered yeeres. When the Duke saw, that with these motiues he did nothing preuaile, he suborned the Londoners, to make petition to the King, that seeing there was peace with France, he would release them of the Subsidie which they had graunted to him in regard of those warres. This suite was instantly followed, and much perplexed the King, vntill the Duke of Lancaster declared to the people, that the King had beene at the charge and dispenſe of three hundred thousand poundes in his voyage into France, for the procuring of this peace: whereupon they were pacified, and desisted from their demand.

1397 The yeere following, *Guido* Earle of *S. Pauls*, was sent into England by *Charles* King of Fraunce, to visit and salute in his name, King *Richard*, and Queene *Isabell* his wife, the French Kings daughter. To this Earle, the King did relate, with what seruencie the Duke of Gloucester contended, to make disturbance of the peace betweene England and France: how, because his minde was not therein followed, hee mooued the people to seditious attempts, bending himselfe wholly to maintaine discord and disquiet, rather in his owne countrey, then not at all. He further reported, what stiffe strifes in former times, the Duke had stirred: which, howsoever they were done, yet as they were declared, they sounded very odious and hard. When the Earle heard this, he presently answered, that the Duke was too dangerous a subject to be permitted to liue: that greatnesse was neuer safe, if it grow excessiue and bolde: that the King must not affect the vaine commendation of clemency,

clemency, with his owne perill: and that it touched him, both in honour to reuenge the disgraces which he had received, and in policy to preuent the dangers which he had cause to feare. These words so sharpened the Kings displeasure, that from thencefoorth he busied his braines in no one thing more, then how to bring the Duke to his end. Now he began to pry more narrowly into his demeanour: to watch his words: to obserue actions: and alwayes to interpret them to the worst, framing himselfe, to many vaine and needlesse feares. Often times he would complaine of him to the Duke of Lancaster, and the Duke of Yorke, how fierce and violent he was in his speeches, and crosse to him in all matters. The Dukes would make answer, that the Duke of Gloucester their brother, was indeed more hoar and vehement then they did commend: yet, his fiercenesse was ioyned with faithfullnesse, and his crueltie proceeded from a care, least the Common-wealth should decrease either in honour or in possessions: and therefore the King had neither need to feare, nor cause to dislike.

About that time, the Dukes of Lancaster and of Yorke withdrew themselves from the court, to their priuate houses: the duke of Gloucester also went to ly at Plashey, neere Chelmsford in Essex: vpon aduantage of which seperation, the King stood distracted in minde, betweene feare to differ, and shame to auow the destruction of the Duke, least he might happily bee disapointed by the one, or dishonoured by the other. Hereupon he entred into counsaile with *John Holland*, Earle of Huntington, his halfe brother: and *Thomas Mowbray*, Earle of Nottingham, howe the Duke of Gloucester might be suppressed or oppressed rather, the cruelty which was but wauering in the King, yea wanting by nature, was soone confirmed by euill aduise: and being once inclined to bloud, he did not faile, either of example or flewd action to followe, or direction of cruell counsaile what to doe: so the plotte was contriued, and according thereto, the

King and the Earle of Nottingham rode together into Essex, as though it were to dispose themselves in hunting: when they were in the midst of the Forrest, the Earle made stay, and the King passed forth with a small and vnuspicious company to the Duke, lying at Plashey: there he stayed dinner: and then pretending occasion of present returne, he desired the Duke to accompany him to London, the faire entreatie of a Prince, is a most forceable commaunde: therefore the Duke supposing that onely to bee intended in deede, which was pretended in shewe, went to horse-backe with the King, taking such small attendance, as vpon the sudden could be in a readinesse, and appointing the rest to come after him to London. So they rode together, vsing much familiar talke by the way, vntill they came neere the place of await: then the King put his horse forward, and the Duke comming behinde, was suddenly intercepted and stayed, crying aloud, and calling to the King for his helpe: the King continued his journey, as though he had not heard, and the Duke was violently carried to the Thames, and there shipped in a vessell layed for the purpose, and from thence conueyed ouer to Calice.

When the King came to London, he caused the Earle of Warwicke also to be arrested and sent to prison, the same day that hee had invited him to dinner, and shewed good countenance, and promised to be gracious Lord vnto him. Vpon the like dissembled shewe, the Earle of Arundell, and his sonne, and certaine others were arrested also, and committed to prison in the Ile of Wight.

The common people, vpon the apprehending of these three noble men, whome they chiefly, and almost onely fauoured, were in a great confusion and tumult; and there wanted but a head to drawe them to sedition: euery man forrowed, murmured, and threatned, and daring no further, stood waiting for one to leade them the way: all being readie to followe that, which any one was loath to beginne.

The

K. Henrie the fourth. 39

The Duke of Lancaster and of Yorke gathered a strong armie, and came therewith to London, where they were readily receiued by the citizens, although the King had commaunded the contrarie: but this seemed to be done, rather for garde to themselves, then regarde to any others.

The king all this time, kept at a village called Helhame, within foure miles of London, hauing aboute him a great power of armed men, which he had gathered out of Cheshire and Wales: and to pacifie the common people, hee caused to be proclaimed, that the Lordes were not apprehended vpon olde displeasures, but for offences lately committed, for which they should be appealed by order of law, and receiue open triall, in the Parliament next following: the like message was sent to the Duke of Lancaster, and the Duke of Yorke, lying at London: to whome the King made faith, for the safetie of their persons, and indemnitie of their goods, and that nothing should be attempted without their priuie and aduise: all this was as rashly believed, as it was craftely giuen out: whereupon the Dukes dissembled their feares, and dissolued their forces, and remained in expectancie what would ensue.

A little before the featt of Saint Michael, the Parliament began at London, wherein Sir *Iohn Bushie*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henrie Greene*, were principall agents for the Kings purpose. These were then in all the credite and authoritie with the King, and his chiefeft Schoole-masters both of crueltie and deceite: they were proude, arrogant, and ambitious, and vpon confidence of the Kings fauour, professed enemies to men of auncient Nobilitie; to the ende, that being lately start vp, they might become more famous by maintaining contention with great persons. And first, by their importunate trauaile, all the Charters of pardon, graunted by the King, were in this Perliament annulled and reuoked. Then the prelates did constitute Sir *Henrie Percie* their procurator, and departed the house, becaule

they might not be present in iudgement of blood. Lastly, the Earle of Arundell, and the Earle of Warwicke were arraigned; and for the same offences, for which they had bene pardoned (namely for encroaching to themselves royall power in iudging to death *Simon Barthe*, *John Berners* and others, without the Kings consent) were condemned to be hanged, drawne, and quartered: but the King so moderated the severitie of this sentence, that the Earle of Arundell was onely beheaded, and the Earle of Warwicke committed to perpetuall imprisonment in the Ile of *Man*.

The Duke of Gloucester, was so greatly fauoured, that it was thought a point both of policie and peace, not to bring him to his open answer, but to put him to death secretly: so he was strangled vnder a feather-bedde at Calice by the Earle of Notingham, being then Earle Marshall: which death, howsoever he deserued; yet dying as he did, not called, not heard, he died as guiltlesse.

In this same Parliament, *Thomas Arundell* Archbishop of Caunterburie was also accused, for executing the commission against *Michaell Delapoule*, Earle of Suffolke: for which cause, his temporalities were seized; his lands and goods forfeited, as well in vse, as in possession: and he himselfe was adiudged to exile, & charged to depart the realme, within sixe weekes then next ensuing. So hee went into Fraunce, where afterwarde, he became a principall meane of the reuolt which followed. Also the Lord *Cobham* was exiled into the Ile of Gernsey: and Sir *Reginold Cobham* was condemned to death, not for entring into any attempt against the King, but because he was appointed by the Lords to be one of his gouernours, and of his counsaile, in the 11. year of his raigne.

Now the King falsely supposing, that he was free from all daungers, and that the humour against him, was cleane purged and spent, conceived more secrete contentment, then he would openly bewraye; as more able to dissemble
his.

his ioy, then conceale his feare : being so blinded and bewitched, with continuall custome of flatteries, that hee perceiued not, that the state of a Prince is neuer stablished by cruelty and crafte. On the other side, the common people were much dismayed, hauing nowe lost those whome they accompted their onely helpes, and their onely hopes, both for their priuate affaires, and for supporting the state: and because these mishapes hapned vnto them, for maintaining a cause of common dislike, the peoples stomacke was stirred thereby to much hate and hearte-burning against the King. And to make their deathes the more odious, the Earle of Arundell was reputed a martyr, and pilgrimages were dayly made to the place of his buriall: the rumour also was current, but without either author or ground, that his head was miraculously fastened againe to his body: this whilest all men affirmed, and no man knewe, the King caused the corpes to bee taken vp, and viewed, ten daies after it was interred: and finding the cause to be fabulous, hee caused the ground to be paved where the Earle was layde, and all mention of his buriall to be taken away, forbidding publickly any such speeches of him afterwardesto bee vsed: but this restraints raysed the more: and they, who if it had beene lawefull, would haue saide nothing, beeing once forbidden coulde not forbear to talke. It was also constantly reported, that the King was much disquieted in his dreames with the Earle, who did often seeme to appeare vnto him, in so terrible and truculent manner, that breaking his fearefull, sleepe he would curse the time that euer he knew him.

In the one and twenty yeare of the raigne of *K. Richard*, *Henry* Earle of Darby, was created Duke of Herforde: at which time the King created foure other Dukes: to wit, Duke of Aumerle, who was before Earle of Rutland: Duke of Southrey, who was before Earle of Kent: Duke of Excester, who was before Earle of Huntington: and Duke of Norfolk, who was before Earle of Notingham. This

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degree of honour long time after, the conquest of the Normans (whose chiefest rulers had no higher title) was accounted too great for a subject to beare: the founne of the common-wealth, being framed by the victors, farre from equality of all, and yet the King excepted without eminencie of any. At the length King *Edward* the third created his eldest Sonne *Edward* Duke of Cornewale, and made this honour hereditary, conferring it vnto many: since which time, diuerse princes of this lande, haue bene either put, or kept, or hazarded from their estate, by men of that quality and degree. The King likewise created the Countesse of Norfolk, Duchesse of Norfolk: the Earle of Sommerfet, Marquesse of Sommerfet: the Lorde Spencer Earle of Gloucester, the Lorde Neuill, Earle of Westmerland: the Lorde Scroupe, Earle of Wiltshire: and the Lord Thomas Darcy his steward, Earle of Worcester. Among these; hee made diuision of a great parte of the landes of the Duke of Gloucester, and of the Earles of Arundell and warwicke: supposing by this double liberality, of honour and possessions: to haue purchased to himselfe most firme friendships, but bought friendes for the most parte, are seldome, either satisfied, or sure: and like certaine Rauens in Arabia, so long as they are full, doe yeeld a pleasant voyce: but being empty, doe make a horrible crie.

Now the Duke of Hereford, raysed his desires, together with his dignities, and either vpon distaine, at the vnderfauour and aduancement of some persons about the King: or vpon dislike, that the King was so dishonourably, both abused, and abased by them: or else (perhaps) vpon desire, to manifest his owne sufficiency in matters of controulement and direction: being in familiar discourse with *Thomas Mowbraye* Duke of Norfolk, he brake into complaint, how the King regarded not the noble princes of his blood, and Peeres of the Realme, and by extremities vsed to some, discouraged the rest from entermeddling in any publike,

publicke affaires: how in steade of these, hee was wholly gouerned by certaine new-found and new-fangled fauorites, vulgare in birth, corrupt in qualities, hauing no sufficiencie either of conncell for peace, or of courage for warre; who being of all men the most vnbonest, and the most vnable, with hatefulnessse of the one, and contempt of the other, were generally dispised in all the Realme: that hereby: Frit the honour of the kings person was much blemished; for vngrate and vngracious adherentes, are alway the way to hatred and contempt: Secondly, the safetie of his state might bee endaugered; for extraordinarie fauour to men apparently of weake or bad desert, doeth breede insolencie in them, and discontentment in others, too daungerous humours in a common-wealth: Thirdly, the dignitie of the Realme was much empai red: whose fortune and valour, being guided by the ill chaunce of such vnluckie leaders: stood neuer in the like termes of doubt and distresse; so that matters of peace, were tumultuous and vncertaine, and achievements of warre, were neuer brought to honourable conclusion: that *Alexander Scarrus* would haue smoaked such sellers of smoake; that *Xerxes* would haue pulled their skin ouer their eares; and high time it was, that the King should looke vnto them: for the nobilitie grew out of hart, the commons out of hope, and all the people fell to a discontented murmuring. And this he said, (as he said) not for any grudge, but for grieve and goodwill: and therefore desired the Duke who was one of the priuie counsell, and well heard with the King, to discouer vnto him these deformities and daungers, that by repaying the one, hee might happily repell the other.

These wordes procured to the Duke of Hereforde, both great offence, and great glorie: at the deliuerie whereof, the Duke of Northfolke made shewe of good liking, and promise of sincere dealing. And in deede, if they had bin as faithfully reported by him, and by the King as friendlie

taken, as they were faithfully and friendly meant, many mischiefes might haue bene auoyded: but both of these did faile: for the Duke of Norffolke, although in former times he had taken parte with the Lordes, yet afterwarde, being desirous to be accompted, rather among the great men, then the good, he made sale of his honour, to maintaine his pleasure, and continue himselfe in grace with the King; to which he was altogether enthralled; insomuch, that the murdering of the Duke of Gloucester, and the execution of the Earle of Arundell, was to his charge especially committed, and supposing vpon this occasion to make a free-hold of his princes fauour, he grievously aggrauated these speeches in in reporting them, and yet cunningly to: with many lyes intermixing some truethe, or making the truth much more then it was. Againe, the King not enduring the search of his soares, did bend his minde, rather to punish the boldnes, then examine the truth of these reproofes: his eares being so distemperd with continuance of flatterie, that he accompted all sharpe that was founde, and liked onely that, which was presently pleasant, and afterwards hurtfull. Thus we may dayly obserue, that no strange accident doth at any time happen, but it is by some meanes foreshewed, or foretold: but because these warnings are often-times eyther not marked, or misconstrued, or els contemned, the euents are accompted ineuitable, and the admonitions vaine.

The King being in this sort touched by the one Duke, and tickled by the other, was not resolued vpon the souldaine, what to doe: therefore he assembled his councell, and called the two Dukes before him, and demanded of the Duke of Norfolke, if hee would openly aouch that which he had suggested in secrete. The Duke seeing it was now no time for him, either to shrink or shuffle in his tale, with a bolde and confident courage, repeated all that before hee had reported. But the Duke of Hereforde could not bee borne downe by countenance, where his cause was good:
and

and therefore after a short silence, whereby hee seemed, rather amazed at the strangenesse of this matter, then abashed at the guilt, he made low obeisance to the King, and greatly both thanked and commended him, that hee had not giuen hastie creadite, to matters of such tender touch, as his grieffe might haue borne out the blame of rashnesse in reuenge; desiring him to continue yet a while, the respite of his displeasure, and to reserue his iudgment free for indifferent audience. Then he declared in order, what speech had passed from him, vpon what occasion, and to what end: all the rest he stoutely denied, affirming that it was falsely furnished by his aduersary, eyther vpon malice to picke a quarrell, or vpon sycophancie to picke a thanke, and that thereupon he was vntrue, vniuste, a forger of slaunderous and seditious lies, whereby he treacherously indeuoured to seduce the King to destroy the Nobility, and to raise disturbance within the realme: and this he offered to proue vpon him (if the King would permit) by the stroake of a speare, and by dint of sword. The Duke of Norfolks stomacke not vsed to beare scorne, could not digest these tearmes of disgrace: whereupon hee stifly stood to his first imputation: and for maintenance thereof, he accepted, and also desired the combat. The King would some other wayes haue quieted this contention, but the Dukes would agree to no other kinde of agreement: and thereupon threw downe their gloues one against the other, for gages. The King seeing their obstinacy, graunted them the battell, and assigned the place at the City of Couentry, in the moneth of August then next ensuing: where in the meane time, he caused a sumptuous Theater, and lists royall to be prepared.

At the day of combat, the two Dukes came, well banded with Noblemen and Gentlemen of their linage. The Duke of Aumerle, for that day hie constable, and the Duke of Surrey for the same time and action, high Marshall of England, entred into the lists, with a great troope of men apparelled in

silke sendale, embroïdred with siluer, euery man hauing a tipped staffe to keepe the field in order. About the time of prime, the Duke of Hereford came to the barriers of the listes, mounted vpon a white courser, barbed with blew & greene veluet, embroïdred gorgeously with Swans and Antilops of Gold-smiths worke, armed at all points, & his sword drawn in his hand. The Constable and Marshall came to the barriers, and demaunded of him, who hee was. He answered: I am *Henry* duke of Hereford, and am come to do my deuoir against *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of Norfolk, as a traitour to God, the King, the Realme, and me. Then he sware vpon the Euangelists, that his quarrell was right, & vpon that point desired to enter the listes, then he put vp his sword, pulled downe his beauer, made a crosse on his forehead, and with speare in hand, entred into the listes, and there lighted from his horse, & fate downe in a chaire of greene veluet, which was set in a trauerse of greene & blew veluet at the one end of the listes: and so expected the comming of his enemy. Soone after, King *Richard* entred the field with great pomp, both in brauery and traine: he had in his company, the Earle of *S. Paule*, who came purposely out of Fraunce to see this combat tried: he was attended with all the noble Peeres of the Realme, and guarded with tenne thousand men in armes, for feare of any sudden or intended tumult.

When hee was placed on his stage, which was verie curiously and richly set forth, a King at armes made proclamation in the name of the King, and of the high Constable, and of the Marshall, that no man except such as were appointed to order and Marshall the fildes, shoulde touch any parte of the listes, vpon paine of death. This proclamation being ended, another herrald cryed. Behold here, *Henry* of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford, appellant, who is entred into the listes royall, to doe this deuoir, against *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of Norfolk defendant, vpon paine to be accounted false and recreant. The Duke of Norfolk was howering on horsebacke.

horsebacke at the entry of the listes, his horse being barbed with crimson veluet, embroadered richly with lions of silver, and mulberie trees, and when he had made his oath, before the Constable and Marshall, that his quarrell was iust and true, he entered the fiede boldly, crying aloud God aide him that hath the right, then hee lighted from his horse, and satte downe in a chaire of Crimson veluet, curtained aboute with red and white damaske, and placed at the other ende of the listes. The Lord Marshall viewed both their speares, to see that they were of equall length: the one speare he carried himselfe to the Duke of Hereford, and sent the other to the Duke of Norfolke by a Knight. This done, a Herrald proclaimed, that the trauerses and chaires of the combantants should be remoued, commaunding them in the Kings name, to mount on horsebacke, and adresse themselues to the encounter, the Dukes were quickly horsed, and closed their beauiers, and cast their speares into the restes. Then the trumpetes sounded, and the Duke of Hereforde set forth towards his enemy, about fixe or seauen paces: but before the Duke of Norfolke began to put forewarde, the King cast downe his warder, and the Herralds cried, ho: then the King caused the Dukes speares to be taken from them, and commaunded them to forsake their horses, and returne againe to their chaires: where they remained about two long houres, whilst the King deliberated with his counsaile what was fittest to be done. At last, the Herralds cryed silence: and Sir *John Borey* a secretary of state with a loude voice, read the sentence and determination of the King and his counsaile out of a long roule: wherein was contained, that *Henry* of Lancatter Duke of Hereford, appellant, and *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of Norfolke, defendant, had honourably appeared that day within the listes royall, and declared themselues valiant and hardy champions; being not onely ready, but forward and desirous to darrein the battel: but because this was a matter of great consequence & import, the King with

the aduise of his Councell, thought it meet to take the same into his owne hands: and thereupon had decreed, that *Herric* Duke of Hereford, because he had displeased the King, and for diuers other considerations, should within 15. dayes next following, depart out of the Realme, and not to returne during the terme of ten yeeres, without the Kings especiall licence, vpon paine of death,

When this iudgement was heard, a confused noyse was rayled among the people, some lamenting eyther the deserte, or the iniurie of the Duke of Hereforde, whome they exceedingly fauoured: others laughing at the conceite of the King: first in causing, and afterwarde in frustrating so great an expectation: wherein he seemed to doe not much vnlike *Caligula*; who lying in Fraunce with a great armie nere the sea shoare, gaue the signe of bartell, set his men in aray, marched soorth as if it had bene to some great piece of seruice, & suddenly commanded them all to gather cockles.

Then the Herralds cryed againe, ô yes: and the secretarie did reade on, how the King had likewise ordayned, that *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of Northfolke, because he had sowed sedition, by words whereof he could make no prooffe, should auoide the realme of England, and neuer returne againe, vpon paine of death: and that the King would take the profites and reuenues of his landes, vntill he had receiued such summes of money as the Duke had taken vp, for wages of the garison of Calice, which was still vnpaide: and that the King prohibited, vpon paine of his grieuous displeasure, that any man should make suite or entreatie to him, on the behalfe of eyther of these two Dukes.

These sentences being in this sort pronounced, the King called the two exiles before him, and tooke of them an oth, that they should not conuerse together in foraine regions, nor one willingly come in place where the other was: fearing (as it was like) least their common discontentment should draw them, first to reconciliation, and afterward to reuenge.

revenge. But this policie was ouer weak for this purpose: for oathes are commonly spurned aside, when they lye in the way, either to honour or revenge: and if their united forces was much to be regarded, their separate powers was not altogether to be contemned. Therefore the later principles of this Realme, haue with more asseie, wholly abolished the use of abjuration and exile: and doe either by death extinguish the power, or by pardon alter the will of great offenders, from entering into desperate and dangerous attempts: which men in miserie and disgrace, haue more vehemencie to begin, and more obstinacie to continue. When the Samnites had once so enclosed the Romaine legions within certain streights, that they left them neither space to fight, nor way to flie: but without force enforced them to yeelde: they sent to *Heremius Pomius*, an aged ruler of their state, for his aduise, what were best for them to doe: his answer was, that the Romaines should be permitted to depart, without any hurt, losse, or shame. This pleased not such as were, either covetous for spoyle, or cruel for blood: and therefore they sent vnto him the second time: who then returned answer, that the Romaines should be put to the sword, and not one man suffered to escape. The contrarietie of these two counsailes, brought the olde man into suspicion of dotage: but he comming in person to the campe, maintained both to be good: the first whereof (which hee thought best) would by unexpected fauour, prouoke the Romaines to a perpetuall friendship: the second would deferre the warres for many yeares, wherein the enemies should hardly recouer strength: third counsaile, there was none that safely might be followed. Yes (said the Samnites) to graunt them their liues, yet with such conditions of spoyle and shame, as the lawes of victorie doe lay vpon them. This is the way (answered *Heremius*) which neither winneth friends, nor weakeneth enemies: but will much increase the fury against vs, & nothing diminish the force. And euen

so, in matters of more particularity, than course of punishment is out of course, which doth neither reclaim the mind of men, nor restrain the might from mischievous endeours. But againe to our purpose.

The Duke of Norfolk, hauing now got a fall, where he thought to take his rest, repented his enterprise, and utterly condemned his light conceite of the Kings lightnesse, and so with extreame griefe and anguish of minde, he departed out of the Realme into Almaine, and from thence trauelled to Venice; where through violence of thought and discontentment, in short time he ended his dayes. This sentence of banishment was giuen against him the same day of the yeere wherein the Duke of Gloucester by his wicked meanes was strangled to death at Calice.

The Duke of Hereford tooke his leaue of the King at Eltham, who there stroke away foure yeres of his banishment, & euen offered himselfe to be sawned vpon & thanked, for so odious a benefit. And this informinate aduenture he neither bare out valgiouly, nor yet tooke impatiently; but in the midst of his misery, retained still his reputation and honour; shewing no signe of sorow or submisnes in his countenance, nor letting fall any intemperate and vnseemely word. The people as he departed, by heaps stocked about him; some to see, and some to salute him: lamenting his departure in such sort, as though their onely light and delight did then forsake them: not sparing to exclaime, that it was against the law of armes, against the custome of the Realme, and against all right whatsoever, that he should be exiled, who had done his honourable endeavour for the maintenance of his appeale. This affection was the more excessive; for that the duke was driven into exile by occasion of his liberall speeches against the most hateful persons in all the Realme: & being the onely noble man then alieue, of the popular faction, the loue was wholly accumulated vpon him, which was before deuided among the rest. And thus the Duke leauing England, rooke shipping

shipping, and passed the Seas to Galice, & from thence went into Fraunce: where hee was honourably entertained by *Charles* the French King, and found such fauour, that hee should haue taken to wife, the onely daughter of *John* Duke Berrie, vnckle to the King of Fraunce, but King *Richard*, fearing the sequel, if the fauor which was borne to the Duke of Hereford within the Realme, should be strengthened with so great affinitie in Fraunce, cast such stops in the way, that the marriage did not proceede.

This yeare the Lawrell trees withered, almost throughout the Realme, and afterwarde against all expectation, recovered life & flourished againe. The same yeare, in Chriitmasse holy-daies, a deepe ryuer which runneth betweene Snelisthorpe and Harewood, neere to Bedford, suddainely stayed the streame: so that for three miles in length, the channell was left drie, and no course of water did hinder passage on foot. This was afterwards interpreted too preface, the reuolt of the people, & the deuision which happened the yeare following: to these wee may adde certaine other prodigies, either forged in that fabulous age, or happening commonly and of course, are then onely noted, when any notable accident doth ensue. When *K. Richard* brought his first wife out of Beame, she had no sooner set foote within this land, but such a tempest did forthwith arise, as had not bene seene many yeares before: whereby diuers ships within the haven were quashed to peeces, but especially, and first of all, the ship wherein the Queene was carried, this was the rather obserued, because such stiffe stormes were likewise stirring: when the King brought his second wife out of France: wherein many ships perished, and a great part of the Kings sardage was lost. At Newcastle vpon Tyne, as two shipwrikes were squaring a piece of Timber, wherfoeuer they hewed, bloud issued forth in great abundance. At one of the Kings pallaces, flies swarmed so thicke, that they obscured the ayre: these fought together most fiercely, so that sackfills lay dead

upon the ground, and this continued so long, that scarce the third part of them (as it was thought) remained alivie, many like accidents are recorded of that time; but I wil maintaine neither the truth of them, nor what they did portend: being a matter wherein most men are rather superstitious, then not credulous, and doe oftentimes repure common occurrēces to be ominous, when any strange euent doth ensue. Yet as I am loath to avouch any vaine and trifling matter, so dare I not detract all truth fro things anciently reported; although done in an age wherein was some delight in lying; many do suppose, that those things which are fatally allotted, though they neuer be avoided, yet sometimes are foreshewen: not so much that we may prevent them, as that wee shuold prepare our selues against them.

In the two and twenty yeare of this raigne of *K. Richard*, *John of Gaunt*, Duke of Lancaster died, and was buried, on the north-side of the high alter, of the Cathedrall Church of S. Paule in London, hee was a man aduised and warie in his passages of life, liking better safe courses with reason, then happy by chance: of his owne glory, he was neither negligent, nor ambitiously careful: towards the King hee carried himselfe in terms honourable inough for a moderat prince, and yet not so plausible as a vaine man would desire; whereby there neuer happened to him any extraordinary matter, either in preiudice, or preferment. After his death, the Duchy of Lancaster did in right deuolue to the Duke of Hereford, his eldest son: but the King (as the nature of man is inclinable, to hate those whome hee hath harmed) seized all the landes and goodes which appertained to the Duke of Lancaster, into his owne handes; and determined to perpetuate the banishment of Duke *Henry* his sonne: reuoking the letters patētes, which were graunted to him at his departure: whereby his generall attorneis were enabled to prosecute his causes and sue liuerie of any inheritance; which during his exile, might fall vnto him, his homage being respited for
a reaso-

a reasonable fine. The king supposed his estate more safe, by the weaknesse and want of the Duke, whome he had nowe in some ieaiousie and doubt: but these violent dealinges were meanes rather to prouoke his mischiefes, then to prevent them; for by iniurious suppressing of the Dukes greatness, he greatly augmented the same.

Edmund Duke of Yorke, the Kings onely vnckle which remained aliue, had hetherto moued his patience, to endure many things against his liking: but nowe either in disdain of this indignity, or in distrust both of his owne safety, and of the common tranquillity of the realme, hee retired himselfe with the Duke of Aumerle his son, to his house at Langley: supposing priuateness to bee the best defence, both from danger and blame, where neither the King had iudgement to discerne, nor any about him had, either hearte or honesty to admonish what was done amisse; where an honourable fame was held suspected, and a good life more in hazard than a bad: protesting that none of these practises, were either deuised by his counsaile, or done by his consent.

At this time, the whole frame of the state was much shaken, and matters of great weight and moment, did hang by a very slender thred. The King was plunged in pleasure and sloath: after whose example, others also (as men doe commonly conform their mindes according to the princes disposition) gaue ouer themselves to delicacie and ease: whereby cowardise crept in, and shipwracke was made, both of manhood and glorie. The chiefe affaires of state, had bene ordered for a long time, according to priuate respects, whereby the common-wealth lost both the state, and the fauour, and seemed not at seasons and by degrees, but with a maine course, and at once to ruinate and fall. The north parts were many times canuased, and by small, yet often losses, almost consumed by the Scots: who had there taken many townes, and castles, and defaced all the countrey with slaughter and spoile. Likewise the south partes were often-times wasted

by the Frenchmen: and in Fraunce many strong holds were lost. It was also constantly affirmed, that the King made agreement to deliuer vnto the King of Fraunce, the possession of Callice, and of othertownes which hee helde in those parts; but the performance thereof was resisted by the lords whether this were true or surmised probably, as agreeable to the Kings loose gouernment, I cannot certainly affirme. As for Ireland, which in the time of *K. Edward* the third was kept in order and awe, by acquainting the people with religion and ciuility, and drawing them to delight in the plenty and pleasures of well reclaýmed countries; whereby it yielded to the kings coffers, thirty thousand pounds euery yeare: it was then suffered to runne into waste, and the people by rudenesse became intractible: so that the houlding thereof charged the King, with the yearly dispencc of thirty thousand markes. Many succours had bene sent into these seuerall countries; but scatteringly, and dropping, and neuer so many at once, as to furnish the warres fully. The King made some expeditions in his owne person, with greate preparation and charge: but beeing once out of credit, whatsoeuer fell out well, was attributed to others; misfortunes were imputed onely to him. If any thing were happily atchieued by some of the nobility, it was by the Kings base hearted parasites, to whom millicary vertue was altogether vnpleasant, so extenuated, or deprauid, or enuid, that it was seldom rewarded; so much as with countenance and thanks: yea sometimes it procured suspicion and danger; the King being informed by a cunning kinde of enemies, commanders, that to be a discreet and valiant commander in the field, was a vertue peculiar to a Prince: add that it was a perillous point, to haue the name of a man of priuate estate, famous for the same in euery mans mouth. Hereupon, few sought to rise by vertue and valour, the readier way was, to please the pleasant humour of the Prince. Likewise matters of peace, were managed by men of weakest sufficiency, by whose counsell

either

either ignorant or corrupt, the destruction of the best harted nobility, was many times attempted, & at the last wrought. The profits and reuenues of the crowne were said to bee let to farme, the King making himselfe landlord of this realme, and challenged no great priuiledge by his reigne, but onely a dissolute and vnecontrolled life. Great summes of money were yearly, rather exacted from the subiects, then by them voluntarily graunted: wherof no good did ensue, but the maintenance of the Kings private delights, & the aduancement of his hatefull fauorites. To these he was somewhat aboue his power liberall: for which cause, he was faine to borrow, begge, and extort in other places: but he purchased not so much loue by the one, as hate by the other. Besides the ordinary tearmes of tenthes and fiftenthes, which were many times paid double in one yeare, diuers newe impositions were by him deuised & put in vse: sometimes exacting xii. d. of euery person throughout the realme: sometimes of euery religious man and woman vi. s. viii. d. and of euery secular priest as much, and of euery lay person married or sole; xii. d. Under the fauourable tearme of beneuolence; hee wiped away from the people such heapes of money, as were little answerable to that free and friendly name. He borrowed in all places of the realme great summes of money vpon his priuy seales, so that no man of worth could escape his loanes: but he seldome, and to few, returned payement againe.

This present yeare, he sent certaine Bishops, and other personages of honour, to all the shires & corporations within the realme, to declare vnto the people the Kings heauie displeasure against them, for that they had bin abettors and complices of the Duke of Gloucceter, and of the Earles of Arundell and Warwicke: and that the King was minded to make a roade vpon them, as common enemies, excepte they would acknowledge their offence, and submit themselves to his mercie and grace. Hereupon, all the men of worth in euery shire and Towne corporate, made their ac-

knowledge & submission in writing vnder their seales; & afterwarde were faine to graunt vnto the King, such importable summes of money, to purchase againe his fauour, as the land being already greatly impouerished, they were hardly able to endure. Then were exacted of the strange & vnaccustomed oathes, which were put likewise in writing, vnder their seales. They were also compelled to set their hands and seales to blanke charters, wherein the King might afterwarde cause to be written what he would; so that all the wealth of the realme was, in a manner at his deuotion and pleasure. These and such like violences, were far wide from the moderate gouernement of *K. Henrie the second*; whose maintayning great warres, and obseyning a larger dominion; when perteyned at any other time to this realme of England, neuer demanded subsidie of his subiectes; and yet his treasure after his death, was founde to be nine hundred thousand poundes, besides his Jewels, and his plate.

In this sort the King, bearing a heauie hand vpon his subiects, and they againe a heauie hart against him, and being withall a Prince weak in action, and not of valure sufficient to beare out his vices by might, the people at length resolved to reuolt, and rather to runne into the hazard of a ruinous rebellion, then to endure safetie ioynd with slaueerie; so they attended occasion, which shortly after was thus offered. The King receiued letters of aduertisement out of Ireland (which being priueledged from other venomous beasts hath alwaies boene pestered with traytors) how the Barbarous Irish had cut in pieces his garrison, and slaine *Roger Mortimer* Earle of Marth, (who had bene declared heire apparent to the Crowne) exercising all the crueltie in wasting of the country, which wrath and rage of victorie could incite a Barbarous people to practise. This losse being great in it selfe, the hard affection of the people did much augment by report; wherupon the King deliberated, whether it were requisite that hee should vnder-take the warre in person, or
commit

commit it to comandars of lower degree? Some perswaded him, that wholly to subdue Ireland, stood neither with policie, nor yet almost with possibilitie: for if it were fully and quietly possessed; some gouernour might hap to growe to that greatnesse, as to make himselfe absolute Lord thereof, and therefore it was better to hold it certaine by weake enemies, then suspected by mightie friendes, and yet by what meanes should those bogges & those woods bee overcome, which are more impregnable, then the walled Townes of other countries? Then if the purpose were, onely to repressie the sauage people, the war was of no such weight, as should draw the King to stand in the fildes: and therefore he might stay in the west partes of England, and from thence make shew of the princely puissance and state; neither venturing his person without cause, and ready at hand if neede should require. Others were of opinion, that to subdue and replenish Ireland, was a matter neither of difficultie nor danger: but both profitable and honourable to the King, and to God very acceptable. For if credite might bee giuen to auncient histories, this realme of England was once as insuperable with bogs and woods, as Ireland was then: but the Romane conquerors kept not their presidarie Souldiers in idle garrison, whereby many times the minde grew mutinous, and the body diseased, and both vnable for the labour and hardnesse of the field: but they held as well them, as the subdued. Britaines continually exercised, either in building of townes in places of best aduantage; or in making of high waies: else in drayning and pauiing of bogges: by which meanes the countrie was made fruitfull and habitable, and the people learned the good maners, not rudely to repulse the flattering assaults of pleasure; preferring subiection with plentie, before beggerly and miserable libertie. That the same Romaines also kept many larger countries in quiet obedience, (so long as they were quiet among themselues) without either feare or danger of any gouernours: first by deuiding them into small

provinces: Secondly by constituting in euery province diuers officers, as Lieutenants and procurators, whereof one was able to restrain the other; the first hauing power ouer the bodies of the subiects, the second ouer their goods: thirdly, by changing these officers euery yeare; which was too short a time to establish a soueraigntie: Lastly, by retaining at Rome, their wiues and children, and whole priuate estate, as pledges for their true demeanure. That the daunger was rather to bee feared, least a weake enimie whilest hee was contemned, should gather strength and be able to stand vpon termes of withstanding: example hereof, happened when the Romaines ouercame this Iland; for many Britanes who vpon no seditious would abide bondage, withdrew themselves into the North parts of the land, & by maintaining their ancient custome of painting their bodies, were called of the Romaines, *Picti*: these were neglected along time, and held in scorn, as neither of force, nor of number to bee thought worthy the name of enimies: but afterwarde they confederated themselves with other people, and so sharply assaulted the subdued Britanes, that being vnable to resist, & the Romaines shrincking from them, they were constrained to desire helpe of the Saxons: and so betweene their enimies & their aides (being set as it were betwixt the beetle and the block) they lost the possession of the best part of their land. That it was a pittifull pollicy for assurance of peace, to lay all waste as a wildernes, and to haue dominion ouer trees and beasts, and not ouer men. That hereby the King did loose the reuenue of a fruitfull countrey, & the benefit of wealthy subiects, which are the surest treasure that a Prince can haue. That hereby also the maiesty of his estate was much impaired: for (as Salomō saith) *The honour of a king consisteth in the multitude of subiectes*. That the countrey being vnfurnished of people, was open to al opportunity of forraigne enimies. That if none of these respectes would moue: yet the King was bounde in duty, to reduce those sauages to the true worshippe of God,

who

who did then either prophanely contemne him, or superstitiously serue him.

These reasons so weighed with the King, that he gathered a mighty armie, determining to goe in person into Ireland, & to pacifie the country before his returne: but al his prouision was at the charge of the subiects: and whereas in time of sedition, a wiſe Prince will leaſt grieue his people, As ſeeming to ſtand in ſome fort at their curteſie, & hauing to imploy their bodies beſide; the King in peace no ſtoarer for war, was forced to offend, when hee ſhould haue bene moſt carefull to win fauour. So about Whitſontide, he ſet forth on his voyage with many men, and ſewe ſoldiours; being a diſſolute and vntrained company, and out of all compaſſe of obedience, hee caried with him his whole treaſure, and all the goods and auncient Jewels appertaining to the crowne. In his company went the Duke of Aumerle, and the Duke of Exceſter, and diuers other noble men, and many Biſhops, and the Abbot of Weſtminſter. He alſo tooke with him the ſonnes of the Duke of Glouceſter, and of the Duke of Hereford; whoſe fauourours he chiefly feared.

When hee came to Briſtowe, hee was put into ſuſpicion, (whether vpon ſome likly hood, or meere mallice) that *Henry Percy* Earle of Northumberland and certaine others, intended ſome diſloyall enterpriſe againſt him: and for that cauſe did not ſolow him into Ireland, but had ſtrained friendſhip with the king of Scots, vpon purpoſe to retire theſelues into his country, if their attempts ſhould faile. Hereupon the king ſent meſſage that the earle ſhould forthwith come vnto him with all the power that he could conueniently make. The earle returned anſwere, that it was vnneceſſary in reſpect of that ſeruiſe, to draw men from ſuch diſtant places; for the Iriſh rebels were neither ſo many nor ſo mighty, but the King had ſtrength at hand ſufficient to ſuppreſſe them: that it was alſo dangerous to diſfurniſh the North-parts of their forces, and to offer opportunity to the Scottiſh border-

ners, who were alwayes vncertaine friends in their extremities, and assured enemies vpon aduantage. The King seeing his commaundement in these termes both contemned and controulled, would not stand to reason the matter with the Earle; neither had he the reason to defer reuenge vntill hee had full power to worke it: but presently in the violence of his fury, caused the Earle and his confederates to be proclaimed traitors, and all their lands and goods to be seized to his vse. The Earle tooke grieuously this disgrace, and determined to cure & close vp his harne with the disturbance of the common state. And thus the King hauing feathered these arrowes against his owne brest, passed forth in his iourney into Ireland.

This expedition at the first proceeded and succeeded exceedingly well, and the king obtained many victories, euen without battell, as leading his men to a slaughter rather then to a fight: for the sauage Irish were not vnder one gouernement, but were deuided into many partialities and factions, and seldome did two or three parts ioyne their common strength and study together: so whilest one by one did fight, all of them were either subdued or slaine. But these newes little reioyced the common people, they lusted not to listen thereto: their common talke was to recount their common grieuances, to lay them together, & aggrauate them by construction: euery man more abounding in complaints then he did in miseries. Also the noblemen (the principall obiect of cruelty) began to discourse both their priuate dangers, & the deformities of the state: and vpon opportunity of the Kings absence, some of them did conspire to cut off that authority which would not be confined, & to cast it vpon some other, who was most like to repaire that which *K. Richard* had ruined: or if (sayde they) our power shall come short of so good a purpose, yet will we sell him both our liues & lands with glory in the field, which with certainty in peace we can not enioy. The onely man vpon whom all men resolved, was

Henrie

Henry duke of Hereford (whom since the death of his father they called duke of Lancaster) not at his own motion or desire, but because he was generally esteemed meet: as being of the royall blood, and next by descent frō males to the succession of the crowne: one that had made honorable proofe of his vertues and valure: the onely man of note that remained aliue, of those that before had stood in armes against the King, for the behoofe of the Common-wealth: for which cause he was deeply touched at that time both in honor and in state. This attempt pleased as possible to proue, and of necessity to be followed: whereupon they secretly dispatched their letters to the Duke, solliciting his speedy returne into England, & declaring that aswel for the benefit of the realm, as for their owne particular safety, they were forced to vse force against King *Richard*: that if it would please him to make the head, they would furnish him the body of an able army, to expell the King from his vnfortunate gouernment, and to settle the possession of the Crowne in him, who was more apt and able to sustaine the same: that they would not provide him a base multitude only, & they themselues helpe in bare wishes & aduise, but would also adioyne their hands and thei liues; so that the peril should be common to all, the glory only his, if fortune fauored the enterprise. These letters were conueyed by men crafty and bolde, yet of sure credit, and inward in trust with the Duke: who passing into France, first associated vnto the *Thomas Arundell* late Archbishop of Canterburie, & at that time (whether deseruedly or without cause) an exile in France: then they trauailed by seuerall waies, and in counterfeit attire to Parris, where all met at the house of one Clugney, where the Duke the ſoiourned, After some courtesies of course, with welcome on the one side, & thanks on the other, and ioy of both: the Archbishop of Canterburie hauing obtained of the Duke priuacie and silence, made vnto him a solemne oration in these words, or to this sence following.

We are sent vnto you (right high and noble Prince) from the chiefe Lords and States of our land, not to seeke reuenge against our King vpon priuate iniury and displeasure: nor vpon a desperate discontentment to set the state on fire: nor to procure the ambitious aduancement of any perticular person: but to open vnto you the deformities and decays of our broken estate, and to desire your aide, in staying the ruinous downfall of the same. The remembrance of the honourable reputation that our countrie hath borne, and the noble actes which it hath archiued, doth nothing els, but make the basenes more bitter vnto vs, wherinto it is new fallen. Our victorious armes haue heretofore bene famous and memorable, not onely within the bownds of our Ocean sea, and in the Ilands adioyning vnto vs; but also in France, in Spaine, and in other parts of Europe, yea in Asia and in Affricke, against the infidels and Barbarians: so that all Chrittian Princes haue bene either glad to imbrace our friendship, or loath to provoke vs to hostility. But nowe the rude Scots, whose spirits we haue so many times broken, and brought on their knees, doe scornfully insult vpon vs: the naked and fugitiue Irish, haue shaken of our shackles, and glutted themselues vpon vs, with massachres & spoiles: with these we dayly fight, not for glory, but to liue: inso much as we are become a pitty to our friends, and a verie ieast to our most base and contemptible enemies. In deed the King hath both sent and led great armies into these countries, but in such sort, that they haue much wasted the realme with their maintenance; but neither reuenged nor relieued it with their armes: and no meruaile, for all our diligent and discrete leaders (the verie sinewes of the field) are either put to death, or banished, or els lie buried in obscurity and disgrace: and the marshalling of all affaires is committed (without any respect of sufficiency or desert) to the counsaile & conduct of those, who can best apply themselves to the Kings youthfull delightes. Among these, auncient nobility is accompted a vaine ieast, wealth,
and

and vertue are the ready meanes to bring to destruction.

It grieues me to speake, but it helpeth not, to hide that which euery man seeth: our auncestors liued in the highest pitch and perfection of libertie; but we offeruilitie, being in the nature, not of subiectes, but of abiectes, and flat slaues; not to one intractable Prince onely, but to many proude & disdainfull fauorites; not alwaies the same, but euer new; & no sooner haue we satisfied some, but fresh hungrie masters are straight waies set vpon vs, who haue more endamaged vs by extortion and bribes, then the enemy hath done by the sword. What vnusuall kindes of exaction are dayly put in practise? without either measure or end, and oftentimes without neede: or if any be, it proceedeth rather vpon ryotus expenses, then any necessary or honourable charge: and great summes of money are pulled and pilled from good subiects, to be throwne away amongst vnprofitable vnthrifles. And if any man openeth his mouth against these extorted taxations, then either by feined imputation of capital crimes, or by smal matters aggrauated, or else by open crueltie and force, his life or libertie is forthwith hazarded. It were too tedious, too odious, too friuolous to put you in mind of particular examples, as though your owne estate, & the lamentable losse of your vncl, & other noble friends, could be forgotten: yea, I suppose that there is no man of qualitie within the Realme, who either in his owne person, or in his neere friends, doeth not plainly perceiue, that no man enioyeth the safegard of his goods, and suerty of his body; but rich men in the one, & great men in the other are continually endaungered. This then is our case; but what is our remedy? we haue endured, & we haue entreated: but our patience hath drawne on more heauie burthens, and our complaints procured more bitter blowes: by the one our liuings, and our liues by the other are dayly deuoured. And therefore we are now cōpelled to shake off our shoulders this importable yoke, and submit our selues to the soueraigntie of some more moderate and worthy per-

son: not so much for the griefe of our miseries which are past nor for the paine of our present distresses, as for feare of such daungers as are most like to ensue, for the King hath cut away the chiefe of the nobilitie, and the commons hee hath pared to the quicke, and still hee harrieth vs as a conquered countrie: whereby we are layd bare to the hauocke of al our enemies, & vterly disabled, not onely to recouer that which is lost, but also to retaine euen that which is left. But to whom should we complaine? what succour, whose ayde should we desire? you are the onely man, who in right should, and in wisdom can, and in goodnesse will (we hope) relieue vs. For you are neere to the King in blood, and therefore ought to haue the rule of that which his weakenesse cannot wiede. Your yeares are well stayed from the light conceits of youth, and so spent, that all your actions haue made prooffe of abilitie in gouernment of greatest charge: nothing past, needeth excuse, and feare is vaine for any thing to come. The paines and perils which heretofore you haue vndertaken for the benefite of your countrie, putteth vs also in good hope, that in these extremities you will not forsake vs: wee are all as in a ship that is ready to sinke, as in a house that is ready to fall, & doe most humbly craue and call for your helpe; now or else neuer shew your selfe in fauour of your countrymen, to free vs, to free your selfe, to free the whole state from these daungers and decayes, by taking into your hands the scepter and diademe of the Realme, and reducing againe the gouernment thereof to a princely freedome; in combining the soveraigntie of one, with the libertie of all. Omit not this occasion: to set forth to the view of the world, as in a large field, & at free scope your vertue and courage, by relieving miserable wretches from their oppressors: which action hath bene so highly honoured, that many heathen men for the same, haue bene accompted as Gods. This we are constrained to offer and entreate: this is both honorable for you to accept, and easie to be performed: and so much the more, in that no
 Prince:

Prince, by any people haue bene desired with greater affection, nor shall be with more dutie obeyed.

The Duke entertained this speech, with great moderation of mind, shewing himselfe neither disturbed thereat, nor excessiue in ioy. His aunswere concerning the King, was respectiue and wel tempered; rather lamenting his weakenes then blaming his malice. Concerning himselfe hee spake so modestly, that he seemed rather worthy of a kingdome, then desirous. The life (quoth he) which hitherto I haue led, hath alwaies bene free from ambitious attempts: and the staydnesse of my yeares, hath now settled my mind from aspiring thoughts: and experience of former dangers hath bred in me a warie regard in such weightie proceedings, for to cast a King out of state, is an enterprise not hastily to bee resolved vpon, nor easily effected: but suppose that matter not impossible, and perhaps not hard, yet the rarenesse of the like precedents, will make the action seeme iniurious to most men: and he that shal attaine a kingdome vpon opinion of desert, doth charge himselfe with great expectation, and how honourably soeuer hee carried himselfe, shall neuer want his deadly enuiers: besides this, in euill dissensions the faith of the whole people is fleeting, and daunger is to bee doubted from euery particular person: so that it is possible that al may fall away, and impossible to beware of euery one. Therefore I could rather wish, to spend the course of my yeares which yet remaine, in this obscure, yet safe and certaine state, then to thrust my selfe vpon the pikes of those perils, which being once entred into, are daungerous to follow, & deadly to forsake: for in private attempts, a man may step and stope when he please: but he that aymeth at a kingdome, hath no middle course betwene the life of a Prince, & the death of a traytor.

The Archbishop hearing this, did as vainly persist in importuning the duke, as he vainly seemed vnwilling & sträge. The state (sayd he) wherein now you stand, is not so safe and certaine as you doe conceiue. In deed, by reiecting ourre-

66 *The life and Raigne of*

quest you shal auoid certaine dignity, and therewith vncertaine & contingent dangers; but you shal procure most certaine destruction both to your selfe and vs. For this secret can not be kept long secret from the king: and euen good princes are nice in points of soueraignty, & beare a nimble eare to the touch of that string: and it more hurteth a subiect to be esteemed worthy of the kingdome, then it will profit him to haue refused the offer. What then will he do, who putteth the chiefeest surety of his reigne in the basenesse & barenesse of his subiects? whose head being possessed with eternall ielously, maketh euery presumption a prooffe, and euery light surmise a strong suspicion against them. Surely since the generall fauour & loue which the people beareth you, hath becreaued you of your liberty, this their generall desire will not leaue your life vntouched. As for vs, if we either faint in our intent, or faile in the enterprise, *actum est*: we shalbe as lambs among lions: and no conquest can be so cruell as the Kings reigne will be ouer vs. Certainly we haue gone too far, for to go backe; and the time is past, when you for ambition, & we for enuy might seeme to attempt against the King: the attainment of the kingdome must now be a sanctuary & refuge for vs both. The like examples are not rare (as you affirme) nor long since put in practise, nor far hence to be fetched. The kings of Denmarke and of Sweueland, are oftentimes banished by their subiects; oftentimes imprisoned & put to their fine. The princes of Germany, about an hundred yeres past, deposed *Adulphus* the Emperour: and are now in hand to depose their emperor *Wenceslaus*. The earle of Flanders was a while since driuen out of his Dominion by his owne people, for vsurping greater power then appertained to his estate. The auncient Britaines chased away their owne King *Carecius*, for the lewdnesse of his life, and cruelty of his rule. In the time of the Saxon *Heptarchie*, *Bernredus* King of *Mercia*, for his pride and stoutnes towards his people, was by them deposed. Likewise *Alfredus* & *Ethelber-*

the Kinges of Northumberland, were for their disorders expelled by their subiects. Since the victorie of the Normaines, the Lords endeauoured to expell King *Henry* the third, but they were not able: yet were they able to depose King *Edward* the second, and to constitute his young sonne *Edward* King in his steade: these are not all, and yet enough to cleare this action of rarenesse in other countries; & noueltie in our. The difficulty indeede is somewhat, because the excellencie is great: but they that are affraide of euery bush, shall neuer take the bird: & your selfe had once some triall hereof, when without battaile, without bloud or blowes, you had the King at such a life, as he held his Crowne at your courtesie, euen at that time when his griuances were, neither for greatnes nor continuance, so intollerable as now they are growne: and by reason of his tender yeres, not out of al compasse, both of excuse for the fault, and of hope for an amendement. And as concerning the lawfulnessse.

Nay (said the Duke) where necessity doth enforce, it is superfluous to vie speach, either of easinesse, or of lawfulnessse: necessity will beate thorow brassen Walles; and can be limited by no lawes. I haue felt verie deeply my part in these calamities, and I would you knew with what griefe I haue beheld your: for what other reward haue I receiued, of all my trauailes and seruices, but the death of my vncke and dearest friends, my owne banishment, the imprisonment of my children, and losse of my inheritance? and what haue becne returned to you, for your bloud so often shed in his vnfortunate warres, but continuall tributes, scourges, gallowes, and slaueerie? I haue made sufficient prooffe, both of pacience in my owne miseries, and of pittie in your: remedy them hither to I could not: If now I can, I will not refuse to sustain that part, which your importunitie doth impose vpon me, if we preuaile, we shall recouer againe our libertie: if wee loose, our state shall be no worse the now it is: and since we must needs perish, either deservingly, or without cause, it is more honorable

rablẽ to put our selues vpon the aduenture cyther to winne our liues, or to dye for deserte: and although our liues were safe, which in deede are not, yet to abandon the state, and sleepe still in this slauerie; were a poynt of negligence and sloath. It remaineth then, that we vse both secrecie and celeritie, laying hold vpon the oportunitie which the Kings absence hath now presented vnto vs: for in al enterprises which neuer are commended before they bee atchieued, delays are daungerous; and more safe it is to be founde in action, then in counsaile: for they that deliberate onely to rebell, haue rebelled already.

So the messengers departed into England, to declare the Dukes acceptance, and to make preparation against his arriuall, both of armour, and of subiection, and desire to obey. Presently after their departure, the Duke signified to *Charles* king of Fraunce, that he had a desire to goe into Brittain, to visite *John* Duke of Brittain, his friend and kinsman. The King suspecting no further fetch, sent letters of commendation in his fauour, to the Duke of Brittain: but if he had surmised any dangerous drift against King *Richard*, who not long before, had taken his daughter to wife; in stead of letters of safe-conducte, he would haue founde lettres to haue kept him safe from disturbing his sonne in lawes citate.

Assoone as the Duke was come into Brittain, he waged certain souldiours, and presently departed to Calice, and so committed to sea for England; giuing forth, that the onely cause of his voyage, was to recouer the Duchie of Lanchaster, and the rest of his lawfull inheritance, which the King wrongfully deteyned from him. In his companie was *Thomas Arundell* the Archbishop of Canterburie, and *Thomas* the sonne & heire of *Richard* late earle of Arundell, who was very yong, and had a little before escaped out of prison, and fled into France to the Duke. The residue of his attendants were very few, not exceeding the number of fifteen lances: so that it is hard to esteeme whether it was greater maruaile,
either

either that he durst attempt, or that he did preuaile with so smal a company: but his chiefest confidence was in the fauour & assistance of the people within the realme. So he did beare with England, yet not in a streight course, but floated along the shoare, making head sometimes to one coast, and sometimes to another, to discouer what forces were in a readines, either to resist or to receiue him.

As he was in this sort houering on the seas, *L. Edmund* duke of Yorke, the kings vnkle, to whom the king had committed the custody of the Realme during the time of his absence, called vnto him *Edmund Stafford* bishop of Chichester, *L. Ghancellor*, & *W. Scroupe* earle of Wiltshire, *L. Treasurer* of the Realme, also, *Sir Iohn Bushie*, *Sir Henry Greene*, *Sir William Bagot*, *Sir Iohn Russell*, and certain others of the kings Priuy counsell; and entred into deliberation what was best to be done. At the last it was concluded, deceitfully by some, vnskillfully by others, and by all perniciously for the king; to leaue the sea coasts, and to leaue London, the very walles & castle of the Realme, and to goe to *S. Albons*, there to gather strength sufficient to encounter with the duke. It is most certaine that the dukes side was not any wayes more furthered, then by this dissembling and deceiuable dealing: for open hostility and armes, may openly and by armes be resisted: but priuy practises, as they are hardly elpied, so are they seldome auoided. And thus by this meanes the duke landed about the feast of *Saint Martin*, without let or resistance, at *Rauenspur* in *Houderneffe*, as most writers affirme.

Presently after his ariual, there resorted to him *Lord Henrie Pearce* Earle of Northumberland, and *Lord Henry* his son Earle of Westmerland, *Lorde Radulph Nenill*, *Lorde Rose*, *Lord Willoughby*, & many other personages of honor, whose company encreased reputation to the cause, and was a great countenance and strength to the Dukes further purposes. And first they tooke of him an oath, that hee should neither procure nor permit any bodi's harme to be done vnto King

Richard; whereupon they bound themselves vpon their honours to prosecute all extremities against his mischievous counsaillers. And this was one step further then that which the Duke pretended at the first, when hee tooke shipping at Callice, which was only the recouery of his inheritance: but that was as yet not determined, nor treated, and off some perhaps not thought vpon; which afterwarde it did ensue: and so was that place easily insinuated into by degrees, which with maine and direct violence would hardlier haue bin obtained. Then the common people desperate vpon newe desires, and without head, head-long to matters of innouation, flocked very fast to these noble men, the better sort for loue to the common-wealth, some vpon a wanton lenetie, and vaine desire of change, others in regard of their owne distressed and decayed estate, who setting their chiefe hopes and deuises vpon a generall disturbance, were then most safe when the common state was most vnsecure. So betweene the one and the other, the multitude did in short time increase to the number of threescore thousand able soldiours.

The Duke finding this fauour not onely to exceed his expectation, but euen aboue his wish, he thought it best to followe the current whilst the streame was most strong, knowing right well, that if fortune be followed, as the first doe fall out, the rest will commonly succcede. Therefore cutting off vnecessary delaies, with al possible celerity hee hastned towards London: to the end that possessing himselfe thereof as the chiefe place within the realme, both for strength and store, he might there make the seat of the warre. In this journey no signe nor shew of hostility appeared, but all the way as he passed, the men of chiefeest quallity and power adioyned themselves vnto him, some vpon heat of affection, some for feare, others vpon hope of rewarde after victorie; euerie one vpon causes dislike, with like ardent desire contending, least any should seeme more forward then they: In euerie place also where he made stay, rich gifts and pleasant deuises

ses were presented vnto him, with large supply both of force and prouision: far aboue his neede: and the common people which for their gréatnesse take no care of publique affaires, and are in least daunger by reason of their basenes, with shoutes and acclamations gaue their applause; extolling the Duke, as the onely man of courage, and saluting him King; but spending many contumelious tearmes vpon King *Richard*, and deprauiing him, as a simple and sluggish man, a dastard, a meycocke, and one altogether vnworthy to beare rule; shewing themselues as much without reason in rayling vpon the one, as they were in flattering the other. Againe, the Duke for his part was not negligent to vncover the head to bowe the body, to stretch forth the hand to euery meane person, and to vse all other complements of popular behauiour, wherewith the mindes of the common multitude are much delighted and drawen; taking that to bee courtesie, which the seuerer sort accompt abasement. When he came to the citty, he was there likewise very richly and royally entertained, with processions and pageantes, and diuers other triumphant deuises & shewes; the standings in all the streets, where he passed were taken vp to behold him; and the vnable multitude, who otherwise could not, yet by their good wordes, wishes, and wils, did testify vnto him their louing affections: neither did there appeare in any man at that time, any memory of faith and alleagiance towards King *Richard*, but (as in seditions it alwaies hapneth) as the most swayed all did go.

On the contrarie side, the Duke of Yorke with the rest of his counsaile, fell to mustering of men at S. Albones, for the King: but as the people out of diuers quarters were called thither, many of the protested, that they would doe nothing to the harne and preiudice of the Duke of Lancaster, who they said was vniustly expelled, first from his country, and afterwarde from his inheritance. Then *W. Scroupe* Earle of Wiltshire L. Treasurer, *Sir I. Bnsh*, *Sir W. Bagot*, and *Sir Hen-*

rie Greene, perceiuing the stiffe resolution of the people forsooke the duke of Yorke, and the L. Chancellor, and fled towards Bristow; intending to passe the seas into Ireland to the king. These foure were they vpon whom the common fame went, that they had taken of the king his realm to farme: who were so odious vnto the people, that their presence turned away the harts of many subiects; yea it was thought, that more for displeasure against them, then against the king, the reuolt was made. For being the onely men of credit and authority with the King, vnder false colour of obedience they wholly gouerned both the realme & him; to many mischiefs corrupting his mind, & in many abusing his name, either against his wil, or without his knowledge, in so much as he was innocent of much harme which passed vnder his commandement: but the patience of the people could not endure that two or three should rule al; not by reason they were sufficient, but because they were in fauour: and the King in that he permitted them whom he might haue bridled, or was ignorant of that which he should haue knowen, by tolerating and wincking at their faults, made them his owne, & opened thereby the way to his destruction. So often times it falleth out to be as dangerous to a prince to haue hurtfull and hatefull officers in place and seruices of weight, as to be hurtfull and hatefull himselfe.

The Duke of Yorke either amazed at this sodain change, or fearing his aduenture if he should proceede in resistance, gaue over the cause, and preferred present security, before duty with daunger; giuing most men occasion to misdeeme by his dealing, that he secretly fauored the dukes enterprise; likewise all the other counsailers of that side, either openly declared for the Duke or secretly wished him wel: & abandoning all priuate direction & aduice, adioyned themselves to the comon course, presuming thereby of greater safety.

Duke *Henry* in the meane time being at London, entred into deliberation with his friends, what way were best to be followed. At the last, hauing considered the forwardnesse of the

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the people, the greatnes of the perill whereinto they had already plunged, & the kings irreconcilable nature, wherof he made proofe against the duke of Gloucester, & the earles of Arundel & of Warwicke: they finally resolved to expel him from his dignity, & to constitute duke *Henry* king in his sted: and to that end open war was denounced against the King, and against all his partakers, as enemies to the quiet and prosperity of the realme; and pardon also promised to all those that would submit themselves to follow the present course, otherwise to look for no fauour, but all extremities. None of the nobility durst openly oppose himselfe to these designs: some vnwilling to play all their state at a cast; kept themselves at liberty, to be directed by successe of further event: others consented coldly, and in tearmes of doubtfull construction, with intent to interpret them afterwards, as occasion should change: but the most parte did directly and resolutely enter into the cause, and made their fortunes common with the Duke, in daunger of the attempt, but not in honour: among whome, the Duke standing vp, vsed speech to this purpose.

I am returned here as you see, at your procurement, and by your agreement have entred into armes for the common liberty: wee haue hitherto prosperously proceeded, but in what tearmes we now stand, I am altogether vncertaine. A priuate man I am loath to be accompted, being designed to be King by you; and a Prince I cannot be esteemed, whilst another is in possession of the kingdome. Also your name is in suspence, whether to be teanned rebels or subiects, vntil you haue made manifest that your allegiance was bound rather to the state of the realme then the person of the Prince. Now you are the men who haue both caused this doubtfullnes and must cleare the same; your parts still remaineth to be performed; your vertue & valure must adde strength to the goodnesse of this action. We haue already attempted so farre, that all hope of pardon is extinct; so that if wee should shrink back, & breake of the enterprise, no mercy is to be expected

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but butchery and gibbets, and all extremities: if wee driue of & delay the accomplishment thereof, we shall loofe the opportunity which now is offred, and open to our enemies occasion of aduantage. For the peoples blood is vp now on our side, and nothing is wanting but our owne diligence & care: let vs not therefore trifle out the time of doing, in talking & deliberating: it is best striking whilst the yron is hoate: let vs fet forth roundly, and possesse our selues with speed of al the parts of the realme: and so we shall bee able either to keepe out our concurrent, or els to entertaine him litle to his liking. So troupes of men were sent into euery quarter of the realme, to secure them for making strength on the part of King *Richard*: but the people in all places as men broken with many burthens, did easily entertaine the first commer, and were not curious to side with the stronger. The Duke pursued those of the Kings priuy counsaile, which fled away from the duke of *Yorke*; bearing himselfe with great cheere and courage, as confident in the cause, and secure of the event. When he came at *Bristow* he found the castile fortified against him; but in short time he forced it, and tooke therein *Sir Iohn Busby*, *Sir Henrie Greene*, & *W. Scroupe*, *L. Trensferer*, a ioyfull pray to the commo people: who (fearing that if execution should bee deferred, petitions for pardon might happen to preuaile, and so their cruelties and iniuries should be answered with the vaine title and commendation of elemency) did violently require them vnto death, no respite could be obtained, no defence admitted, no answer heard: yea their humble and submisle intreaty was interpreted to argue a weake & broken courage vpon a guilty conscience, which more incensed the rage of the people, crying out that they were traitours, bloud-suckers, theeuers, and what other heinous tearmes insulting fury did put into their mouthes: at which clamorous and importunant instance, the day following they were beheaded, *Sir William Bagot* came not with them to *Bristowe*, but turned to *Chester*: and the purtuitt being made after the
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most, he alone escaped into Ireland. This execution, partly because it pleased the people, and partly because it excluded all hope of the Kings pardon, caused them to cleave more closely to the Duke; which greatly increased, both his glory, & his hope; having officers of so long aide, & need of so little.

In the meane time this newes of the Dukes arrivall and of other occurrences, part true, part false, and part enlarged by circumstance (as fame groweth in the going) was blowne over to the King, being then entangled with other broyles in Ireland, at the receipt whereof, hee caused the ~~honours~~ honours of the Duke of Gloucester, and of the Duke of Lancaster to be imprisoned in the strong Castle Trim, which is in Ireland, & for dispatch to returne into England, left many matters unfinished, and most of his provision behind, having and shuffling vp, as present necessitie did enforce. So being both unskillfull and unfortunate himselfe, & devoide of good direction; with more haste then good hap he tooke shipping, with the Duke of Aumerle, Exceter, & Surrie, the Bishops of London, Lincolne, and Caerdiele, and many othes men of qualitie: and crossing the seas, landed at Milford haven in Wales, in which countreimen he alwaies reposed his chiefeft suretie & trust, but then he saw contrarie to his expectatio, that as wel there as in all other places, the people by plumps stocked to the Duke, & fled from him: yea they that came with him began for to wauer, no man encouraging them to be constant, but many to revolt. This suddaine chaunge not looked for, nor thought vpon, disturbed all the Kings deuises, & made him irresolute what hee should doe: on the one side hee saw his cause and quarell to bee right, and his conscience (he saide) cleare from any bad demerite: on the other side hee saw the great strength of his enemies, and the whole power of the realme bent against him: & being more abashed of the one, then emboldned by the other, he stood perplexed in vncertaine termes, either where to stay, or whether to stirre, having neither skill nor resolution himselfe in cases of difficultie, and

noxious to hurtfull and vnfaithfull counsaile. Some aduised him to march forward, and pierce deeper into the land, before his owne forces fell from him: affirming, that valure is seconded by fortune: that this courage of his, would confirme the constancie of his souldiours: and his presence put the people in remembrance of their faith: that in all places he should finde some, who for fauour, or for hire, or else for duetie, would adheare vnto him: whereby hee should soone gather strength sufficient to ioyne issue with his enemye in the fild. Others perswaded him to retire againe into Ireland, & then if succour failed him in England, to wage souldiours out of other countries. But the King being no man of action in militarie affaires, reiected both the counsailes, as neyther venturous enough with the one, nor warie enough with the other: and taking a middle course (which in cales of extremitie of all is the worst) he determined to make staye in Wales, and there to attende to what head this humour would rise.

The Duke vpon aduentisement that the King was landed in Wales, remoued with a strong armie from Bristowe towards Chester, vsing the first oportunitie against him, and which in deede was the fittest. When *L. Thomas Percie* Earle of Worcester, and steward of the Kings houlhold, heard of the Dukes approach, he brake forth into shewe of that displeasure, which before hee had conceiued against the King, for proclayming his brother, the Earle of Northumberlande traytour, and thereupon openly in the hall, in the presence of the Kings seruants, he brake his white rodde, the ensigne of his office, and forthwith departed to the Duke, willing euery man to shift for himselfe in time: by which acte he lost reputation, both with the haters & foudrers of King *Richard*; being accounted of the one a corrupter, of the other a forsaker and betrayer of the King. After this example, almost all the rest, more fearefull then faithfull scattered themselves euery one his way: and they who in the Kings flourishing time,

time, would haue contended to bee foremost, now in his declining estate equally draw backe, and like swallowes, for-lookke that house in the winter of fortunes boylterous blasts, where they did nothing but feede & soyle in the summer of her sweete sunne-shine. And thus betweene faint souldiers and false friends, the King was abandoned and forsaken, and left almost vnto himselfe: looke on he might, but let it, hee could not, as not of force to punish that, which he neuer forced to preuent: his only remedy was patience: (a cold comfort) his only reuenge was complaint: (a weake weapon) betweene which two, his bitternesse did in this manner breake from him.

And doe these also (said he) forsake me? doth their faith & my fortune end together? wel, if I had forsaken them in time. I had not beene forsaken of others, who once loued me better, and now are able to harme me more. But now I see the blindness of my iudgement: I plainly see, that there is no friendship in flatterie, nor treacherie in plaine truth: and I would I had as much time to reforme this error, as I am like to haue to repent it, but they would not suffer me to be wise when I might, and now they haue made me wretched they runne from me: they could bee the causes, but they will not be companions of my miseries: such attendants are Crowes to a carcasle, which flocke together, not to defend, but to deuour it, and no sooner haue they layd the bones bare, but straight-ways they are gone.

Thus the King hauing lost both the feare and loue of his subiects, disturbed and distracted in thoughts, without comfort councell or courage, remained still in Wales, as a stranger at home, as an exile in his owne kingdome, not daring to goe to London, nor any man desirous to come to him, shifting still from place to place, and (as it falls out at men distressed & amazed) fearing all things, but most disliking the present. The Duke continually pursued him with a mightie armie: but the Kings companie was too small to doe any thing

by force, & yet too great to remaine in secrete: neither were they in any sort assured vnto him, but such as shame and reuerence retained a while; bands of small countenance, with men fearefull of danger, & carelesse of credite. At the length he came to the Castle of Conweye; and there being viterly destitute both of helpe and hope, he stood deuided in mind what way to bend his course, all his followers weare more ready to impugne the opinions of other, the to giue direction themselves, as seeing better what to shunne then what to follow; and as it alwaies chanceth in desperate causes, that way was commonly preferred, wherof the opportunitie was already past. Some aduised him, that it was the time to think, rather of sauing his life, then recovering his estate. You see (said they) how greatly & how wholly your subiects are set against you: it is but in vaine to looke for a suddaine change, or without a chaunge to hope that your purposes may preuaile, giue place for a time to the currant of this furie; let it haue the full sway; and when it is at the highest pitch, it will turne againe; and then you shall haue the tide as strong on your side, as it is now against you. This motio or rather commotion of the people, is violent and against nature: & therefore (as a stone forced vpward) is most stronge at the beginning, and the further it passeth the more it weakneth, vntil at last it returne to the naturall course againe. Therefore giue a little space, for the bad to draw backe, for the good to put forward: treasons preuaile on the suddaine; but good counsailes gather forces by leasure. You haue example in your noble progenitor King *Henry* the third, against whome the Lords set vp *Leues* the French kings sonne: conditions were concluded, and faith was made that he should be their King: but this purpose lasted not the pulling on: for before they had possessed him of the kingdom, they ioyned together in armes against him, & were as fierce to driue him out of the realme, as they had beene found to draw him in. The like alteration may you likewise not onely hope, but assuredly expect: for the

the mindes of men are constant in nothing but inconstancie, and persecuer onely in chaunge, in dislike of things present they desire new, wherwith they rest not long contented, but are many times glutted euen with the first sight. And indeed how can they long endure the raigne of him, who attaining the kingdome onely by their fauour and might, shall holde the same in a manner, at their courtesie and will? for euerie vnpleasant commaund, shall be deemed ingratitude: euerie suit reiected, shall charge him with vnkindnesse. Yea if honor be not offered, they will be discontented: and vpon any occasion of displeasure, thinke theselues as able to displace him, as they were to set him vp: therefore you may for a time, returne againe into Ireland; or else passe the seas to your Father in lawe, the king of Fraunce: you may assure your selfe of his assistance, to set vpon your side, and recouer your losses. Times haue their turnes, and fortune her course too and fro like the sea, & magnanimitie is shewen by enduring, & not relinquishing when she doth crosse, onely loose no point of courage, and keepe your person at large: reseruing your selfe to that good hope, which neuer dieth whilst life endure.

Others, who were enemies to all counsaile, whereof themselves were not authors, perswaded the King, that the nobilitie and commons of the realme had attempted so farre, that they would rather dye, then desist; not so much for hatred to you, as for feare to themselves; hauing so deadly increased your displeasure against them. For it is a hard matter to forgive, and impossible to forget those iniuries and indignities which they haue offered. And to omit what some princes haue done, what all will promise to doe, they will soone find fresh and bleeding examples what you are like to doe. The Duke of Gloucester and the Earles of Arundell and of Warwicke did rise in armes against you, not to remoue you from your crowne: but to remoue certaine persons from your company; an action more displeasing then prejudiciall vnto you: at the last, a friendship was made, and charters of free par-

don graunted vnto them: but what followed? was euer the breach perfectly made vp? did displeasure dye? or was it only dissembled? ah, it grieueth vs to thinke, how the present want of their liues, hath fully reuenged their deaths: for if they had liued, their countenance and authority would easily haue staied these stirs; and the manner of their deaths doth strike an obdurate persistance into all your enemies. As for refuge to forren Princes, you shall surely receiue of them entertainment and allowance, and yet may growe burdensome, and at last perhaps faile: but it is very hard to draw any Prince into so dangerous a quarrell: and more harde by that meanes to preuaile: or if you should, it is to bee feared that the victors will hold to themselves the benefit of their conquest, and not yeeld it ouer vnto you. Few countries but haue bin vnder pretence of ayde by forreners subdued; and this was the only cause which first drew the Saxons into this land: who so assisted the Britaines against their enemies, that themselves could not be resisted from possessing theys kingdome. Yet we doe not altogether condemne the helpe of straungers, in cases of extremity; but doe account it a remedy, least to be trusted, and last of all to bee tried. What then if first you should procure a treaty, to see in what terms the people stand against you? It may be that vpon some conditions they will submit themselves vnto you, as heretofore they haue done. Or if they wil needs deforce you from your kingdome, yet if an honourable maintenance may bee assured, what shall you lose thereby? What shall you lack? You haue no childe to be disinherited; the chiefest motiue which maketh men so greedy to get, and so carefull to keepe. And as for your selfe, you shall be remoued from a steepe & slippery hill, to a smooth and pleasant plaine; from tempestuous seas, to a calme haven; from dangerous trauaile to secure rest: & if there be no place without safety, no felicity without firmnesse; you shall finde the private life not only more sweete, but more high and happy then your princely state.

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The tallest trees are weakest in the toppes; in widest fieldes are greatest tempests; and enuy alwaies aimeth at losiest marks: so that to be placed on high, is a false felicity, and a true misery; in shew a rule, but indeed a subiection to all the subiects; hauing least stay to stand, and most danger in the fall: and therefore if you come downe safely, you are therein priuiledged aboue many other. But you shal lose (you will say) the credit & the countenance of a King: so you shal the cares; and so you shall the casualties. The crown & scepter are things most weighty to wield: if a Prince be good, he is laden with labour; if euill, with infamy and reproch: neither with perils on euery side he is beset with dangerous rocks, with deadly gulfes, & continually tossed with throng and sturdy tempests: so that to be freed frō these feares, is to be esteemed an escape, and not a losse. This did the stoick Philosopher perceiue, who seeing *Dionysius* sit, merrily & freely conceited in the theater, beeing a little before expelled his kingdom, greatly condemned the error of his people who had banished him to such liberty, & so preferred him by his punishment. These are the dreames of philosophers (you will say) who vsually contemne and depraue honor, & yet neuer lie from honourable mens tables. Let passe then Philosophers: go to vaine and sottish men. *Selenus* being a King was wont to say, that if a man knew with what cares the diadē was clogged, he would not take it vp, although it lay in the street. You will say peraduenture, that like the boatman, he looked one way, and pulled another; or like the lapwing, he cried most whē he was furthest from his nest, vainly dispraising that which hee was loathest to loose. What say you then to *Antiochus*? whome when the Romanes had dispoiled of al Asia, he sent vnto them great thanks, that they had rid him of infinit & imposable cares, and set him at a moderate quiet: you will say that he made a vertue of his necessity. Well then, we are somewhat neere your case: & they that cannot frame their wils to this wisdom, let them thanke their enemies for enforcing them to it. But what say you to *Dioctesius*? who did voluntarily relinquish, not a small and corner kingdōe, but the greatest empire that the world did euer beare

and found so sweet contentmēt in that exchange, that when he was importuned by the senate, to resume his estate, hee vterly reiected their suite. But what need we trauell in externe histories, for those examples, whereof we haue so large supply in our owne? the ancient Saxon Kings, *Kingulfus, Ima, Ceolulphus, Eadbertus, Ethelredus, Keredus, Offa, Sebbi, & Sigebertus* did of their owne accord laye downe their diadems and scepters, and betake theselues to solitary & religious liues. Now many Princes haue helde their estate with better fortunē, but none did ouer with greater honor leaue it, then you should at this present: for others haue abādoned their rule, either for desire of ease, or for auoidance of dangers, or vpon some sluggish and superstitious deuotiō: but you for loue to your country, shall forbear to seek your vttermoſt remedy, in setting vp a most cruell war: where in much English blood should be spilt, & the realme depriued of many worthy armies. Let others be reported to forsake their kingdoms, when they had no longer pleasure to hold the: but your praise shall be for giuing ouer, when it is greatest benefite vnto the people: and the more hope you haue to preuaile, if you list to contend, the greater commendations will it be to yeeld, as being rather voluntary then by constraints.

The king comended the courage of the first, but this last couſell best agreed with his faint & feeble spiriū. more yeelding to feare then forward in hope; apt by the one to despair, vnable by the other to holde out in any hard aduēture, preferring alwayes abiekt and base safety, before hazard with honour. Yet were many ready to reply, that al speech of conditions & yeelding was both dishonorable & also dangerous: for euē in hardest liaps, said they, a noble nature wil not presently relinquish; but first endeuor either by courage to repell the danger, or by wisdom to decline it: and why should you so little esteem your glory and fame, as without battel, or blow strike it; to bind your hands, & yeeld vp your weapons, & put your selfe vpon miserable mercy: or if the honor of your noble house doth nothing moue you, yet let danger & despair at least arme you to boldnesse: for neither the duke nor his friends will be so confident

as to thinke themselves safe, so long as you shall remaine (although in priuate estate) aliue. Indeed you may assure your self that faire words wil be giuen, & large offers made: but the performance shal consist in the courtsey of the conqueror: and nothing will be thought vnlawfull to him that hath power. King *Edward* the second was too heauy to be indured, euē of his own sonne: and many haue vsed violence to themselves, rather thē they would fall into the power of their concurrents: and do not you expect more fauor or greater fortune thē other haue found: let neuer that senselesnes possesse your mind, to imagine that a prince may liue safely in priuate estate: for in this case there is no meane betweene *Cesar* & nothing, betweene the highest honor & the deadliest downfall. Therefore omit neither all nor any one meane vnassayed, to maintaine your side by armes: no greater harme can happen at the hardest, then that which willingly you run into: you can but die if you be vanquished, & die you shall if you do yeeld: but by the one you shall end your life with glory, by the other, with shame & perpetuall reproch. And although you do now esteeme equally of both, yet when you shall see your selfe pent in prison, in dayly feare and expectancy of a bloody messenger; you shall then perceiue a difference in death, and find the weaknesse and fault of the counsell which you are about to follow. Many like speeches were with great vehemēcy often repeated, but the kings eares were stopped against all impresson of manhood: and as he was vnable to gouerne himselfe in his prosperous estate, so was he much lesse sufficient to wind out of these intricate troubles. Therefore perceiuing himselfe so straitly beset, that he could hardly either escape away, or shift any longer, he desired speech with *Tho. Arundel* archbish. of Cant. & *L. Hen. Percy* earle of Northumb. of whom, the one he had banished, the other he had proclaimed traitor not long before. These two came vnto him, & the king vpon short cōference, vnderstanding what stiffe stomacks they bare against him, was cōtent not to demand that which he saw he could not obtaine: & thereupon agreed that he would relinquish his estate, vpon condition that an honorable liuing might

be assigned him, & life promised to 8. such persons as he would name: the greatest number whom aduersity did not alter. This was then both readily & faithfully promised by the Archbish. and the earle, & afterward solemnly ratified by the duke. The king ceased not to intreat submissly, & promise largely, and (as the nature is of men perplexed with feare) about his ability, & without measure, the earle encouraged him, and declared that the Duke before he had obtained any aide, secured by his oath the safety of the kings person. Then the king desired to talke with the duke, which was likewise promised; & so the archbish. & the earle departed, & the king remoued to the castle of Flint, about 8. miles distant from Chester, to which place the Duke came to him. Here the countenances & words of both were noted, by them that were present: the king seemed abject & base: the duke neither insulting nor relenting, but comforting and promising friendly. The king repeated many benefits & kindneses that he had shewed: how in former time he had spared the dukes owne life, & lately his sonnes: in regard whereof he desired him, with such submissnes as was agreeable rather with his necessity then his honour: that he would shew some pitie, where he had receiued such pleasure: and permit him to enioy his life, with such priuate maintenance as was couenient for his estate. The duke put him in good comfort, promising him assuredly, that he would provide for his safety: for which he suffered himselfe to be solemnly thanked, & thought it not much to haue it accounted a great benefit. Indeed from that time the king was kept safe and sure enough, from hindring any of the dukes purposes, neither could it so easily haue bene discerned what had beue best for him to do, as that this which he did was the very worst: for the same night he was brought by the duke and his army to Chester, and from thence secretly conueyed to the Tower of London, there to be kept safe vntill the Parliament, which was appointed shortly after to be holden.

Thus the King yealded himselfe, the 20. day of August, being the 47. day after the Dukes arriual: so that his journeyes considered, from Houldernesse in the North to London: from thence

thence to Britowe, & so into Wales, & backe againe to Chester: a man shal not easily trauaile ouer the land in shorter time then he conquered it. So friently was fortune vnto him, that hee eyther found or made a readie passage through al hinderances and lets: & it seemed that he needed onely, to open his armes, to meete and receiue her, as she offered her selfe vnto him. All the Kings treasure & Jewels, with his horses, and all his fardage came to the Dukes hands; and many that were in his companie, were afterwards also despoyled by the fouldiours of Northumberland and Wales.

Some writers affirme, that the King did not yeald himselfe, but was forelaied & taken, as he was secretly passing fro Flint to Chester: but the authoritie of others who liued in that time, eyther in the plaine viewe, or certaine intelligence of these affaires, who for their place could not but knowe, and for their professio would not but deliuer the very truth, hath drawne me to follow their report: which I find also receiued by some late wrighters, of as great deapth in iudgement and choice, as any (without exception) that this age hath brought forth.

As the King was carried towards London, certaine citzens conspired to lay themselves in a wait by the way, and sodainly to slay him; partly for priuate grieuances, & partly for the cruelty that he had vsed towards the whole citty: but the Maior vpon intelligence preuented the practise, and rode forth in person with a couenient company, to conduct him safely vnto the tower. Shortly after the duke came to Londō in solemn estate, and sent forth summons in the Kings name, for a Parliament to be holden at Westminster, the last day of Septēber in the same yeare: in the meane time he deliberated with his kindred and kind friends, concerning the order of his proceedings. The duke of Yorke (who a litle before had bene gouernour of the realm for the king & the was the chiefest directer of the duke) thoght it best that *K. Richard* should both voluntarily resigne, & also solemnly be deposed, by consent of all the states of the realme: for resignation only would be imputed to feare, and depriuation to force; whereof the one is alwaies pitied, and the other en-

uied; but if both concurre, and his desire be combined with his desire, being willing to forsake that which he is adjudged worthy to forgo; then shall it appeare, that he neither is expelled his kingdom by meere constraint, nor leaueth it without iust cause. This aduice pleased the rest, and for executing thereof vpon the day of S. Michael (which was the day before the parliament should begin) there assembled at the Tower. *Thomas Arundell* archbish. of Canturbury, *Richard Scroppe* archbish. of Yorke, *John* bishop of Hcreford, *Henry* duke of Lancaster, *Henry* earle of Northumberland, *Radulph* Earle of Westmerland, *L. Hugh Burnell*, *L. Thomas Berkley*, *L. Rose*, *L. Willoughby*, *L. Abergreyne*, the Abbat of Westminster, the Prior of Canterbury, *William Thirninges*, and *John Makeham*, Chiefe Iustices, *Thomas Stroke*, and *John Burbache*, Doctours of Law, *T. Herpingham*, and *T. Gray* knights, *W. Ferby*, and *Dionise Lophane* publike Notaries, and diuers others either not noted, or not remembre d. When all were set in their places, King *Richard* was brought forth, apparelled in his royall robe, the diademe on his head, and the scepter in his hand; and was placed amongst them in a chaire of estate. Neuer was prince so gorgeous, with lesse glory and greater griefe: to whom it was not disgrace sufficient, to lose both the honour and ornaments of a king, but he must openly to his greater scorne, renounce the one, and deliuer the other. After a litle pause and expectation, the king arose from his seat, and spake to the assembly these words, or the very like in effect.

I assure my selfe that some at this present, and many hereafter, will accompt my case lamentable; either that I hane deserued this deiection, if it be iust; or if it be wrongfull, that I could not auoide it. Indee d. I doe confesse, that many times I haue shewed my selfe both lesse prouident, and lesse painfull for the benefite of the common-wealth, then I should, or might, or intended to doe hereafter; and haue in many actions, more respected the satisfiing of my owne particular humour, then either iustice to some priuate persons, or the common good of al; yet I did not at any time, either omit dutie or comit grieuance,

vpon

vpōn natural dulnesse or set malice; but partly by abuse of corrupt councellers, partly by error of my youthfull iudgement. And now the remembrance of these ouer-sights, is so vnpleasant to no man, as to my selfe; and the rather because I haue no meanes left, either to recompence the iniuries which I haue done, or to testifie to the world my reformed affections, which experience and stayednesse of yeares had already corrected, &c would dayly haue framed to more perfection. But whether all the imputations wherewith I am charged be true, either in substance, or in such qualitie as they are layd; or whether being true, they be so heinous, as to inforce these extremities, or whether any other Prince, especially in the heate of youth, and in the space of two and twentie yeares (the time of my vnfortunate raigne) doth, not sometimes either for aduantage, or vpon displeasure, in as deepe manner grieve some particular subject; I will not now examine: it helpeth not to vs defence; neither booteth it to make complaint: there is left no place for the one, nor pitie for the other: and therefore I referre it to the iudgement of God; and your lesse distempered considerations.

I accuse no man, I blame no fortune; I complaine of nothing: I haue no pleasure in such vaine and needlesse comforts: and if I list to haue stood vpon tearmes, I know I haue great fauourers abroad, and some friends (I hope) at home, who would haue beene ready, yea forward on my behalfe, to set vpon bloudy and doubtfull warre: but I esteeme not my dignitie at so high a price; as the hazard of so great vantage, the spilling of so much English blood; and the spoile and waste of so flourishing a Realme, as thereby might haue bene occasioned. Therefore that the Common-wealth may rather rise by my fall, then I stand by the ruine thereof, I willingly yeeld to your desires; and an heere come to dispossesse my selfe of all publike authority and title; and to make it free and lawfull for you to create for your King, *Henric Duke of Lancaster* my cousin germaine, whom I know to be as worthe to

take that place, as I see you willing to giue it to him.

Then he read openly and distinctly the forme of his cession, wherein he did declare, that he had discharged his subiectes, from their oathes of fealitie and homage, and all other oathes whatsoeuer; and of his owne will & free motion, did abdicate, the title, dignitie, and authoritie of a King: and rendered vp the possession of the Realme, with the vse and title thereof, and all the rights thereunto appertaining. To this the King subscribed and was sworne: and then hee deliuered with his owne hands the Crowne, the Scepter, and the Robe to the Duke of Lancaster; wishing vnto him more happinesse therewith, then had euer happened vnto himselfe. Then he did constitute the Archbishop of Yorke, and the Bishop of Hereford his procurators, to intimate and declare this his resignation, to all the states of the realme, which should be assembled together in Parliament. Lastly, he gaue all his riches and goods, to the summe of three hundred thousand pounds in coyne, besides his Jewels & plate, for satisfaction of the iniuries that hee had done, desiring the Duke, & al the rest that were present seuerally by their names, not altogether to forget that he had bene their King, nor yet too much to thinke vpon the same; but to retaine of him a moderate remembrance; and in recompence of the ease that hee had done them by his voluntarie yeelding, to permit him to liue safely, in a private and obscure life: with the sweetnesse whereof he was so possessed, that fro thenceforth he would preferre it, before any preferment in the world. All this was deliuered and done by the King, with voyce and countenance so agreeable to his present beauidesse, that there was no man to vnmindfull of humane instabilitie, which was not in some measure moued thereat: inso much as a fewe secrete teares melted from the eyes of many that were present, in whose mindes a confessed and obscure alteration alreadye giue to beginne. So prone and inclinable are mento pitie miserie; although they haue procured it, and to enuie prosperitie; euen that which they haue raysed.

Vpon

Vpon Munday next following the Parliament began at Westminster; and the Archbishop of Yorke and the Bishop of Hereford (the Kings Attorneys for this purpose) declared openly to the state: there assembled, the Kings voluntarie resignation; and demaunded whether they would assent and agree therevnto? the Barons of the realme by severall and particular consent, the commons with one generall voyce, did expressely accept and admit the same. Then it was thought meet that certaine defects and misdemeanures concerning matters of government, should be objected against the King: for which he should be adjudged as vnworthy, as he seemed vnwilling to reteine the kingdome. To this purpose certaine articles were engrossed, and openly read: in which was conceyned, how vnprofitable the King had bin to the realme; how vniust and grievous to the subiectes; contrarie both to his honour, and to his oath. The chieffest of which articles are these that follow.

1 First that King *Richard* did wastefully spend the treasure of the realme, and had given the possessions of the crowne, to men vnworthy, by reason whereof, new charges were dayly laide on the neckes of the poore comminaltie.

2 Item, where diuers Lords as well spirituall as temporall, were appointed by the high court of Parliament, to commune and treat of matters concerning the state of the realme, and the commonwealth of the same, they being busied about the same commission, he with others of his affinity went about to impeache them of treason.

3 Item, that by force and menace, he compelled the Iustices of the realme at Shrewsburie, to condescend to his opinion for the destruction of the said Lords: Insomuch as he began to raise warre, against *John* Duke of Lancaster, *Thomas* Earle of Arundell, *Richard* Earle of Warwicke, & other Lords contrarie to his honor and promise.

4 Item, that he caused his vnckle the Duke of Gloucester,

ster, to be arrested without lawe, and sent him to Calice, and there without iudgement murdered him: and although the Earle of Arundell vpon his arraignment, pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in most vile and shamefull manner sodainly put to death.

5 Item, he assembled certaine Lancashire and Cheshire men, to the intent to make warre on the foresaid Lords, and suffered them to robbe and spoile, without correction or reproofe.

6 Item, that although the king flatteringly and with great dissimulation, made proclamation throughout the realme, that the Lords asorenamed were not attached for any crime of treason, but onely for extortions and oppressions doone within the realme, yet he laide to them in the Parliament rebellion and manifest treason.

7 Item, he hath compelled diuers of the said Lords seruants by menace, to make great fines & extreame payments, to their vtter vndooing: and notwithstanding his pardon to them granted, he made them fine a new.

8 Item, where diuers were appointed to common of the estate of the realme, and the commonwealth of the same, the king caused all the roubles & records to be kept fro them, contrary to his promise made in parliament, to his open dishonor.

9 Item, he vncharitably commaunded, that no man vpon paine of losse of life and goods, should once entreate him for the returne of *Henrie* now duke of Lancaster.

10 Item, where the realme is houlden of God, and not of the Pope, or any other Prince, the said King *Richard*, after he had obteyned diuers acts of Parliament, for his owne peculiar profit and pleasure, then he procured Bulles and extreame censures from Rome, to compell all men streitly to keepe the same, contrary to the honour and auncient priuiledges of this realme.

11 Item, although the Duke of Lancaster had done his deuoyre against *Thomas* Duke of Northfolke; in prooffe of his

his quarrell, yet the said king without reason or ground banished him the realme for ten yeares, contrarie to all equitie.

12 Item, before the Dukes departure, he vnder his broad Scale, licenced him to make attorneys, to prosecute and defend his causes: the said king after his departure, would suffer none attorney to appeare for him, but did with his at his pleasure.

13 Item, the said king put out diuers Shiriffes lawfully elected, and put in their roomes diuers others of his owne minions, subuerting the lawe, contrarie to his oath and honour.

14 Item, he borrowed great summes of money, and bound himselfe vnder his letters patents for the repayment of the same, and yet not one peny paid.

15 Item, he taxed men at the will of him and his vnhappie counsaile, and the same treasure spent in folly, not paying poore men for their vittaile and viand.

16 Item, he said that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and sometimes in his brest: by reason of which phantasticall opinion, he destroyed noble men, and impouersished the poore commons.

17 Item, the parliament setting and enacting diuers notable statutes, for the profit and aduancement of the commonwealth, he by his priue friends and solicitours, caused to be enacted, that no acte then enacted should be more preiudiciall to him, then it was to his predecessours: thorow which *promise*, he did often as he list, and not as the lawe ment.

18 Item, for to serue his purpose, he would suffer the Shiriffes of the shires, to remaine aboue one yeare or two in their office.

19 Item, at the summons of parliament, when the Knights and Burgeses should be elect, and the election had fully proceeded, he put out diuers persons elected, and put in others in their places, to serue his will and appetite.

20 Item, he had priue espials in euery shire, to heare

who had of him any communication, and if he composed of his lasciuious living, and outrageous dooing, he straightwayes was apprehended, and made a grievous fine.

21 Item, the spiritualtie alledged against him, that he at his going into Ireland, exacted many notable summes of money, beside Plate and Jewels, without lawe or custome, contrary to his oath taken at his coronation,

22 Item, when diuers Lordes and Iustices were sworne to say the trueth, of diuers things to them committed in charge, both for the honor of the realme, and profit of the King, the said king so menaced them with sore threatnings, that no man would or durst say the right.

23 Item, that without the assent of the Nobilitie, he caryed the Jewels and Plate, and treasure, ouer the sea into Ireland; to the great impouerishing of the realme; and all the good recordes of the common wealth against his extortions, he caused priuily to be embeaseled and caryed away.

24 Item, in all leagues and letters to be concluded and sent to the sea of Rome and other regions, his writing was so subtil and darke, that no other Prince durst once beleue him, nor yet his owne subiects.

25 Item, he most tyrannouslie and vnprincely said, that the liues and goods of all his subiects, were in the Princes hands, and at his disposition.

26 Item, that he contrarie to the great Charter of England; caused diuers Iustie men to appeale diuers olde men, vpon matters determinable at the common law, in the court Marciall, because that in that court is no triall but onely by battaile: whereby the sayd aged persons fearing the sequell of the matter, submitted themselves to his mercie, whom he fined and ransomed vnreasonably at his pleasure.

27 Item, he craftily deuised certaine priue oathes, contrarie to lawe, and caused diuers of his subiects, first to be sworne to obserue the same, and after bound them in bands for sure keeping the same, to the great vndoing of many honest

honest men.

28 Item, where the Chancellour according to lawe, would in no wise graunt a prohibition to a certaine person, the king graunted it vnto the same person vnder his priuie seale, with great threatnings if it should be disobeyed.

29 Item, he banished the Bishop of Canterburie, without cause or iudgements, and kept him in the Parliament Chamber with men of armes.

30 Item, the bishops goods he graunted to his successor, vpon condition that he should maintaine all his statutes made at Shrewsburie Anno. 21. and the statutes made Anno 22. at Couentre.

31 Item, vpon the accusation of the Archbishop, the king craftily perswaded the said Bishop to make no answer, for he would be his warrant, and aduised him not to come to the Parliament; and so without answer he was condemned and exiled, and his goods seized. Four other Articles were laide, which particularie did concerne the said Archbishop, by whose dooing chiefly the king was vtterly vndone.

Then was demanded of the Nobilitie and commons of the realme, what they iudged both of the trueth and desert of these articles? who all agreed that the crimes were notorious, and that king *Richard* was worthie for the same to be deposed from his princely dignitie. The noble men gaue their voyces, part corrupted by fauour, part awed by feare: and the commons are commonly like a flocke of Cranes, as one dooth flye, all will follow. Herevpon Commissioners were appointed by both the houses; who pronounced sentence of deposition against king *Richard*, in manner and forme as followeth.

In the name of God Amen. UUe Iohn Bishop of S. Asse,
L. Abbate of Gloucestria, Thom. Earle of Gloucester, Thom.
Lord Berkley, Thom. Erpinghame, Thom. Graye Knights:
Will. Thurninge Iustice, Commissioners for the matters here-

after specified, by the Lords spiritnall and temporall of the realme of England, and the Commoners of the said realme, representing all the states of the said Kingdom, specially depuied, sitting in foate of iudgement; and considering the manifold perjuries, and cruelties, and many other crimes and offences by Richard late King of the said realme, committed and doone, contrarie to good gouernement in the realme and dominions aforesaid, during the time of his reigne: also considering the articles which were openly exhibited and read before the said states, which were so publike, notorious, manifest, and famous, that they could not any by no auoydance and shift be concealed: also considering the confession of the said King, acknowledging and reputing and truly upon his certaine knowledge judging himselfe to haue been and to be altogether insufficient and unskilfull, for the rule and gouernment of the realme and dominions aforesaid and of any parts of them, and not unworthy to be deposed, for the notorious demerites by the said Richard first acknowledged, and afterward by his will and mandate, before the said states published, and to them opened and declared in the English tongue. Upon these and other matters which were done concerning the same busines, before the said States and vs, by the diligent place, name and authority to vs in this parte committed, in abundance and for a cause we pronounce, decree and declare, the said Richard, to haue bene and to be vnprofitable and vnable, and altogether insufficient and vnworthy for the rule and gouernment of the said realmes, and of the dominions, rights and parts of them: and in regarde and respect of the premises, worthy to be deposed from all kinglie dignitie and honour (if any such dignitie and honour remaineth in him) and for the like cause we doe depose him by our sentence definitive in this writing: inhibiting from henceforth expressly, all and singular Lords, Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates, Dukes, Marqueses and Earles, Barons, Knights, Vassalles, and all other persons whatsoever, of the said realme and dominions, and other places to the said realmes and dominions appertaining, the subiects and liege people of the same, and enery of them, that from henceforth none obey, or in-

send to he the foresaid Richard, as king or Lord of the realme
and dominions aforesaid.

Then the same Commissioners were by the consent and
suffrages of both houses, constituted procurators, ioyntly
and severally for all the states of the realme; to resigne and
surrender vnto King Richard, for them and all other homa-
gers of the realme, all the homages and fealties which were
both due and doone vnto him, as King and Soueraigne, and
also to declare vnto him all the premises, concerning his de-
position. Now *Henrie* Duke of Lancaster, that he might be
reputed, or reported at the least, not to attaine the kingdom
by intrusion and wrong, was counsailed by his friends, to
pretend some lawfull challenge and claime therevnto: and
being in power, it was no sooner aduised what was to
bee doone, but it was presently deuised how to doe it, so a
title was straine from *Edmund*, sonne to King *Henrie* the
third, whom they surnamed Crowch backe: affirming that
he was the eldest sonne of King *Henrie*, and that for his de-
formitie, he was put from his right of succession in the king-
dome; which was for that cause giuen to his yonger bro-
ther, King *Edward* the third; to this *Edmund* the Duke was
next of blood by his mother *Blanche*, sole daughter and
heire to *Henrie* the first Duke of Lancaster, and sonne to the
saide *Edmund*. This cunning conceit was perceiued of all
men; but seeming not to perceiue it, was a point of friend-
ship in some, and of obedience in the rest: therefore the king-
dome of England being then thought vacant, both by the
resignation, and also by the deposition of King *Richard*:
Duke *Henrie* arose from his seate, and standing in the view
of the Lords, crossed himselfe on the forehead, and on the
brest, and spake as followeth.

In the name of God Amen. I *Henrie* of Lancaster, claime
the realme of England, the crowne, with all the appoyntments,
as it is lawfully due by the blood royal comming
from that good Lord *K. Henrie* the third, and through the right

that God of this grace hath sent mee, with the helpe of my kindred and of my friendes, to recover the same: Which kingdom was in point to be undone, for default of good government and due iustice.

After these wordes, it was demanded in both houses, of the Nobility & of the commons which were assembled, whether they did consent that the Duke should raigne? Who all with one voyce, acknowledged and accepted him for their King: then the Archbishop of Canterburie tooke him by the hand, and placed him in the throne of estate, the Archbishoppe of Yorke assisting him, and all the assemblie testifying their owne ioy, and wishing his. Then the Archbishop made an oration, and tooke for his theme, this place of Scripture: *See, this is the man whom I spake to thee of, this same shall raigne over my people.* 1. Reg. 9. 17. After all this he was proclaimed King of England, and of France, and Lord of Ireland: and the common people which is void of cares, not searching into sequels, but without difference of right or wrong inclinable to follow those that are mighty, with shoutes and clamours gave their applause, not all vpon judgement, or faithfull meaning, but most onely vpon a received custome to flatter the Prince whatsoever he be. Yet least the heate of this humour should allay by delay, it was forthwith proclaimed in the great Hall, that vpon the 13. day of September next ensuing, the Coronation of the King should be celebrated at Westminster. These matters being thus dispatched, the King proclaimed, arose from his seate, and went to White Hall: where he spent the rest of the day in royall feasting, and all other complementes of ioy: notwithstanding there appeared in him no token of stateynesse or pride, nor any change in so great a change.

Vpon Wednesday next following, the procurators, before mentioned, went to the presence of King Richard, being within the Tower; and declared vnto him the admission of his resignation, and also the order and forme of his deposition:

sion: and in the name of all the states of the realme, did surrender the homage and fealty which had been due vnto him; so that no man from thence forth would beare to him faith and obedience, as to their King. The King answered that he nothing regarded these titulare circumstances, but contented himselfe with hope, that his coulsen would be gracious Lord, and good friend vnto him.

So vpon the 13. day of October, which was the day of the translation of Edward the Confessor, the Duke was with all accustomed solemnities, by the Archbishoppe of Canterbury, sacred, annoynted and Crowned King at Westminster, by the name of king *Henry the fourth*; vpon the very same day, wherein the yeere before, he had been banished the Realme. Hee was annoynted with an oyle, which a certaine religious man gaue vnto *Henry* the first Duke of Lancaster (Grandfather to the King by the mothers side) when he serued in the warres of King *Edward* the third, beyond the seas; together with this Prophecie, that the Kinges which should be annoynted therewith, should bee the champions of the Church. Duke *Henry* deliuered this oyle in a golden violl to Prince *Edward*, the eldest sonne of King *Edward* the third; who locked vp the same in a barred chest within the Tower, with intent to be annoynted therewith, when he should bee crowned King: but the Prince dying before his Father, it remained there, eyther not remembred, or not regarded, vntill this present yeere; wherein the King, being vpon his voyage into Ireland, and making diligent search for the iewels and monumentes of his progenitours, found this Violl and Prophecie: and vnderstanding the secret, was desirous to be annoynted againe with that oyle; but the Archbishop of Canterbury perswaded him, that both the fact was vnlawfull, and the precedent vnseene, that a King should bee annoynted twice: whereupon he brake of that purpose, and tooke the Violl with him into Ireland: and

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when

when hee yeelded himselfe at Flint, the Archbishoppe of Canterbury demaunded it of him agayne and dyd receaue and referue the same, vntill the coronation of King *Henric*; who was the first King of this realme, that was anoynted therewith.

I am not purposed to discourse, eyther of the authority, or of the certaintye of these prophesies: but wee may easily obserue, that the greatest part of them, eyther altogether sayled, or were fulfilled in another sence, then as they were commonly construed and taken. During the raigne of King *Henric* the fourth, execution by fire was first put in practise within this Realme, for controuersies in poyntes of religion: in any other extraordinary matter, hee did as much make the Church champion, as shew himselfe a champion of the Church: but afterwarde his successours were entytuled *Defenders of the fayth*: and howe in action they verified the same, I referre to remembraunce and reporte of later times.

Now it had beene considered, that the tytle which was deriued to King *Henric*, from *Edmund*, whome they surnamed Crouchbacke, would bee taken but for a blynde and idle iest: for that it was notorious that the sayd *Edmund*, was neyther eldest sonne to King *Henry* the thyrde (as it was plainly declared by an acte of Parliament) nor yet a misshapen and deformed person: but a goodly Gentleman, and valiant commaunder in the field, and so fauoured of the King his Father, that hee gaue him both the heritages and honours of *Summers Mountfort* Earle of Leicester, of *Ferrars* Earle of Derby, and of *John* Barron of Monmuthe, who to theyr owne ruine and destruction, had desplayed seditious enignes against the King. And further to aduaunce him to the marriage of *Blanch* Queene of Nauerne, he created him the first Earle of Lancaster, and gaue vnto him the countie,

ry, Castle, and towne of Lancaster, with the Forrestes of Wilsdale, Loundale, Newcastle beneath Linne, the Manner, Castle and Forrest of Pickering, the Manner of Scaleby, the towne of Gomecester, of Huntendone, &c. with many large priuiledges, and high titles of honour.

Therefore King *Henry* vpon the day of his Coronation, caused to be proclaimed, that he claymed the Kingdome of England, first by right of conquest: Secondly because King *Richard* had resigned his estate, and designed him for his successeur: Lastly, because he was of the bloud royall, and next heyre male vnto King *Richard*.

Heres malus indeed (quoth *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of March vnto his secret friends) and so is the Pirate to the Marchant, when hee despoyleth him of all that hee hath. This *Edmund* was sonne to *Roger Mortimer* who was not long before slaine in Ireland, and had been openly declared herye apparent to the Crowne, in case King *Richard* should dye without issue; as descended by his Mother *Philip*, from *Lionell Duke of Clarence*, who was elder brother to *John Duke of Lancaster*, King *Henrys* Father: and therefore the sayd *Edmund* thought himselfe, and indeed was, neerer heyre male to the succession of the Crowne, then he that by colour of right clayming it, carried it by dynt of force.

But such was the condition of the tyme, that hee supposed it was vaine, for him to stirre, where King *Richard* could not stand: Whereupon he dessembled, eyther that he saw his wrong, or that hee regarded it; and chose rather to suppress his title for a tyme, then by vniuely opposing himselfe, to haue it oppressed and deprest for euer: to this ende hee withdrew himselfe farre from London, to his Lordshippe of Wigmore, in the West partes of the realme: and there settled himselfe to a priuate and close life: Idlenes and vacancy from publike affaires, he accompted a vertue, and a deepe point of wisdom to meddle with

nothing, whereof no man was chargeable to yeelde a reckoning. In reuenues he was meane, in apparell moderate, in company and traine not excessiue, (yet in all these honourable and according to his degree) so that they which esteemed men by outward appearance only, could see in him no great shew, eyther of wit and courage in his minde to be feared, or of wealth and honour in his estate to be enuyed. And thus whilest a greater enemy was feared, he passed vnregarded; making himselfe safe by contempt, where nothing was so dangerous as a good opinion; and raking vp those coales in obscuritie for a time, which shortly after set all the realme on fire.

King *Henrie* presently after his coronation, created his eldest sonne Lord *Henrie*, being then about xiii. yeares of age, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewall, and Earle of Chester, and soone after he created him also Duke of Aquitaine. Afterwards it was enacted, by consent of all the states of the realme, assembled together in the Parliament, that the inheritance of the Crownes and Realmes of England and of Fraunce, and of all the dominions to them apperteyning, should be vnted and remaine in the person of King *Henrie*, and in the heires of his body lawfully begotten: and that Prince *Henrie* his eldest sonne, should be his heyre apparant, and successour in the premisses: and if he should dye without lawfull issue, then they were entayled to his other sonnes successiue in order, and to the heyles of their bodies lawfully begotten.

The inheritance of the Kingdome being in this sorte settled in King *Henrie* and in his line, it was mooued in the Parliament what should be doone with King *Richard*. The Bishop of Caerliel, who was a man learned and wise, and one that alwayes vsed both libertie and constancie in a good cause; in his secret iudgement did neuer giue allowance to these proceedings: yet dissembled his dislike, vntill he might to some purpose declare it: therefore now being
in

in place to be heard of all, and by order of the house) to be interrupted by none, he rose vp and with a bould and present spirit, vttered his minde as followeth.

This question (right Honourable Lordes) concerneth a matter of great consequence and weight: the determining whereof will assuredly procure, eyther safe quiet, or dangerous disturbance, both to our particular consciences, and also to the common state. Therefore before you resolute vpon it, I pray you call to your considerations these two things: First, whether King *Richard* be sufficiently deposed or no: Secondly, whether King *Henrie* be with good iudgement, or iustice chosen in his place. For the first point we are first to examine, whether a king, being lawfully and fully instituted by any iust title, may vpon imputation, eyther of negligence, or of tyrannie, be deposed by his subiects: Secondly, what King *Richard* hath omitted in the one, or committed in the other, for which he should deserue so heauie iudgement. I will not speake what may be doone in a popular state, or in a consular; in which although one beareth the name and honour of a Prince, yet he hath not supreme power of Maiestie; but in the one, the people haue the highest empire; in the other, the Nobilitie, and chiefe men of estate; in neyther, the Prince. Of the first sorte was the common wealth of the Lacedæmonians, who after the forme of gouernement which *Licurgus* framed, oftentimes fined, oftentimes fettered their Kings, and sometimes condemned them to death: such were also in *Cæsars* time, the petty Kings of euery Citie in Fraunce; who were many times attaigned vpon life and death, and (as *Ambiorix* Prince of the *Leodienses* confessed) had no greater power ouer the people, then the people had ouer them. Of the second condition were the Romaine Emperours at the first; of whome some, namely *Nero* and *Maximinus* were openly condemned, others were sodainlie

Tranquil in
caligula.
Tacitus, in
sur-proæmio.

surprised by iudgement, and authoritye of the Senate: and such are nowe the Emperours of Germany, whom the other Princes by their Aristocraticall power, doe not onely restrayne, but sometimes also remooue from their imperiall state: such are also the Kinges of Denmarke, and Sweueland, who are many times by the nobilitye deiected, eyther into pryson, or into exile: such likewise are the Dukes of Venice, and of some other free states in Italy: and the chiefeit cause for which *Lewes* Earle of Flanders was lately expelled from his place, was for drawing to himselfe cognisance in matters of life and death, which high power neuer pertayned to his dignitie.

In these and such like gouernmentes, the Prince hath not regall rightes, but is himselfe subiect to that power which is greater then his, whether it be in the Nobility or in the common people. But if the Soueraigne Maiesty be in the Prince, as it was in the three first Empires, and in the Kingdomes of Iudea and Israll; and is now in the kingdomes of England, Fraunce, Spaine, Scotland, Muscouia, Turkey, Tartaria, Persia, Aethiopia, and almost all the Kingdomes of Asia and Africke: although for his vices he bee vnprofitable to the subiectes, yea hurtfull, yea intollerable: yet can they lawfully neyther harme his person, nor hazard his power, whether by iudgement, or els by force: for neyther one, nor all Magistrates haue any authority ouer the Prince, from whome all authority is deriued, and whose onely presence doeth silence, and suspend all inferiour iurisdiction and power. As for force, what subiecte can attempt, or assilt, or counsaile, or violence against hys Prince, and not incurre the high and heynous crime of treason?

It is a common saying, thought is free: free indeede from punishment of secular lawes, except by worde or deed

deed it breake forth into action: Yet the secret thoughts against the sacred maiesty of a Prince, without attempt, without endeavour, haue beene adiudged worthy of death: and some who in auricular confession, haue discovered their treacherous deuises against the person of their Prince, haue afterwarde beene executed for the same. All lawes doe exempt a madde man from punishment: because their actions are not gouerned by theyr will and purpose: and the will of man being set aside, all his doings are indifferent; neyther can the body offend without a corrupt or erroneous minde: yet if a mad man draw hy sword vpon his King, it hath bin adiudged to deserue death. And least any man should surmise that Princes, for the maintenance of theyr owne safety and soueraignety, are the onely authors of these iudgements; let vs a litle consider the patternes and preceptes of holy Scripture: *Nabuchadnezzar* King of Assiria wasted all Palestine with fire and sword, oppugned Hierusalem a long time, and at the last expugned it: slue the King: burne the Temple: tooke away the holy vessels and treasure: the rest hee permitted to the cruelty and spoyle of his vnnmercifull soldiers: who defiled all places with rape and slaughter, and ruinated to the ground that flourishing Citty: after the glut of this bloudy butchery, the people which remayned, he led Capriue into Chaldaea: and there erected his golden Image, and commaunded that they which refused to worship it, should bee cast into a ferye furnace.

What crueltye, what iniustice, what impiety is comparable to this? and yet God calleth *Nabuchadnezzar* his seruant, and promiset him hyre and wages for his seruice: and the Prophetes *Jeremiah* and *Baruch* dyd Jerem. 25. 9. wryte vnto the Iewes to praye for the lyfe of him; Ezech. 29. 18. and of *Baltasar* hyz Sonne, that theyr dayes myght Jerem. 29. 7. bee vppon earth as the dayes of Heauen: and *Ezechiel* Baruch. 1. 11.

with

with bitter termes abhorreth the disloyalty of *Zedechia*, because he revolted from *Nabuchadnezzar*, whose homager and tributary he was. What shall we say of *Saul*? did he not put all the Priestes to execution, because one of them did relieue holy and harmelesse *David*: did he not violently persecute that his most faithfull seruant and dutifull Sonne in law during which pursuite, he fell twice into the power of *Dama*; who did not onely spare, but also protect the King, and reprooued the pretorian souldiers for their negligent watch, and was touched in heart for cutting away the lappe of his garment: and afterwards caused the messenger to be slaine, who vpon request and for pittie, had lent his hand (as he said) to help forward the voluntary death of that sacred King. As

So did *Domitian* put to death *Euphrastus*, *Neroes* libertine, because he helped *Nero* (although in loue) to kill himselfe. So did *Seuerus* kill all the killers of *Pertinax* his prodecessour: and likewise *Vatellinus* did put to death all the murthers of *Galba*. *Theophilus* Emperour of Grecia caused all those to be slaine, who had made his Father Emperour, by killing *Leo Armenius*. And *Alexander* the great put to cruell execution, those that had slaine *Darius*, his mighty and mortall enemy.

for the contrary examples: as that of *Iehon* who slue *Iehoram* and *Ahazja*, Kings of Israell and Iuda: they were done by expresse oracle & reuelation from God, and are no more set downe for our imitation, then the robbing of the Egyptians, or any other periculer and priuiledged commaundement, but in the generall precept, which all men must ordinarily follow, not onely our actions, but our speeches also, & our very thoughtes are strictly charged with duty and obedience vnto Princes, whether they be good or euill, the law

of God ordaineth: *that he which doth presumptuously against the ruler of the people shall dye*: and the Prophet *David* forbiddeth, to touch the Lords annointed, *Thou shalt not* (saith the Lord) *rayle vpon the iudges, neither speake euill against the ruler of the people*. And the Apostles do demanda further that euen our thoughtes and soules bee obedient to higher powers. And least any should imagine that they meant¹⁷ of good Princes onely, they speake generally of all; and further

Deut. 17. 12.
Psal. 105.

Exod. 22. 28.
Act. 23. 5.

Rom. 13. 1. 13.
Tit. 3. 1.

1 Pet. 2. 13. 14.

1. Tim. 2. 2.

ther to take away all doubt, they make expresse mention of the euill. For the power and authoritie of wicked princes is the ordinance of god; and therefore Christ told Pilate, that the power which he had was giuen him from aboue; and the Prophet *Esay* calleth *Cyrus*, being a prophane and heathen Prince, the Lords anoynted. For God stirreth vp the spirit euen of wicked Princes to doe his will; and (as *Jeboſaphat* sayd to his rulers) they execute not the iudgement of man, but of the Lord: in regard whereof *Dauid* calleth them Gods; because they haue their rule and authority immediately from God: which if they abuse, they are not to bee ad- iudged by theyr subiects, for no power within theyr domi- nion is superior to theirs: but God referueth them to the soreſt tryall: *Horribly and ſodainly* (saith the Wiseman) *will* the Lord appeare vnto them, and a hard iudgement shall they haue.

Rom. 13. 2.

Iohn 19. 11.

Cap. 45. 1.

1. Chro. 36. 22.

2. Chron. 19. 6.

Pſal. 28.

Sap. 6.

The law of God commaundeth, that the Childe should be put to death, for any contumely done vnto the parents: but what if the Father be a robber? if a murtherer? if for all excesse of villanyes, odious and execrable both to God and man? surely he deserueth the highest degree of punishment, and yet must not the Sonne lift vp his hand against him, for no offence is so great as to be punished by parricide: but our country is dearer vnto vs then our parentes: and the Prince is *pater patrie*, the Father of our Country: and therefore more sacred and deere vnto vs, then our parentes by nature, and must not be violated, how imperious, how impious soeuer hee bee: doth he commaund or demanda, our persons or our purses, we must not shunne for the one, nor shrink for the other: for (as *Nehemiah* saith) *Kings* haue dominion over the bodies and over the castle of their sub- iectes, at their pleasure. Doth he enioyne those actions which are contrary to the lawes of God? we must neyther wholly obey, nor violently resist, but with a constant courage sub- mit our selues to all manner of punishment, and shewe our

Quintil in de- clam.

Cic. offic. lib. 1.

Nehem. 9. 37.

Alphonſ. a caſt
in lib. de ſicre-
ſi in verb. Ty-
rannus. Domi-
nie.
Soto lib. 5. de
iuſt. et iur. q. 1.
artic. 3.

ſubiectiō by enduring, and not performing: yea the Church hath declared it to bee an hereſie, to holde that a Prince may be ſlaine or depoſed by his ſubiectes, for any diſorder or default, eyther in life, or elſe in gouernment, there will be faultes ſo long as there are men: and as wee endure with patience a barren yeere, if it happen and vnſeaſonable weather, and ſuch other defectes of nature, ſo muſt wee tolerate the imperfections of rulers, and quietly expecte, eyther reformation, or elſe a change.

But alas good king *Richard*, what ſuch cruelty? what ſuch impiety hath he euer committed? examine rightly thoſe imputations which are layde againſt him, without any falſe circumſtance of aggrauation, and you ſhall finde nothing objected, eyther of any truth, or of great moment. It may bee that many errors and ouerſightes haue eſcaped him, yet none ſo grievous to be termed tyranny; as proceeding rather from vnexperienced ignorance, or corrupt counſaile, then from any naturall and wilfull mallice. Oh, howe ſhall the world bee peſtered with tyrantes, if ſubiectes may rebell vpon euery pretence of tyranny? howe many good Princes ſhall daylye bee ſuppreſſed by thoſe, by whome they ought to bee ſupported? if they leaue a ſubſedy, or any other taxation, it ſhall be claymed oppreſſion: if they put any to death for trayterous attempts againſt theiſe perſons, it ſhall be exclaymed cruelty: if they doe any thing againſt the luſt and liking of the people, it ſhall bee proclaymed tyrannie.

But let it be, that without authority in vs, or deſert in him, king *Richard* muſt be depoſed: yet what right had the Duke of Lancaſter to the Crowne? or what reaſon haue wee without his right to giue it to him? if hee make title as heyre vnto king *Richard*, then muſt he yet ſtay vntill king *Richards* death; for no man can ſucceed as heyre to one that liueth.

liueth But it is well knowne to all men, who are not cyther wilfully blinde or grosely ignorant, that there are some now aliue, lineally descended from Lionell Duke of Clarence, whose offspring was by iudgement of the high Court of Parliament holden the viii. yeere of the raigne of King *Richard*, declared next successour to the Crowne, in case King *Richard* should dye without issue. Concerning the tytle from *Edmund Crouchbacke*, I will passe it ouer, seeing the authors thereof are become ashamed of so absurde abuse, both of theyr owne knowledge, and our credulity, and therefore all the clayme is now made, by right of conquest; by the cession and graunt of King *Richard*; and by the generall consent of all the people. It is a bad wooll that can take no colour: but what conquest can a subiecte pretend against his Soueraigne, where the warre is insurrection, and the victory high and heynous treason? as for the resignation which king *Richard* made, being a pent prisoner for the same cause; it is an acte exacted by force: and therefore of no force and validity to binde him: and seeing that by the lawes of this land, the king alone cannot alienate, the auncient iewels and ornaments pertaining to the Crowne, surely hee cannot giue away the Crowne it selfe, and therewithall the kingdome.

Neither haue we any custome, that the people at pleasure should electe theyr king: but they are alwayes bound vnto him, who by right of bloud is next successour, much lesse can they confirme and make good that title, which is before by violence vsurped: for nothing can then be freely doone, when liberty is once restrained by feare. So did *Scilla* by terrour of his legions, obtayne the lawe of *Vellia* to bee made, whereby hee was created dictator for fourescore yeeres: and by like impression of feare, *Cesar* caused the law *Sernia* to be promulged, by which he was made perpetuall dictator: but both these lawes were afterwarde adiudged void. As for the deposing of king *Edward* the 2. is no more

to be vrged, then the poysoning of King *John*, or the murdering of any other good and lawfull Prince: we must liue according to lawes, and not to examples: and yet the kingdome was not then taken from the lawfull successour. But if we looke backe to times lately past, we shall finde that these titles were more stronge in King *Stephen*, then they are in the Duke of Lancaster: for king *Henry* the first being at large liberty, neyther restrained in body, nor constrained in minde, had appointed him to succeed: (as it was vppon good credite, certainly affirmed.) The people assented to this designement; and thereupon without feare, and without force, he was anoynted King, and obtained full possession of the realme. Yet *Henry* (Sonne of the Earle of *Aniowe*) hauing a neerer right by his mother to the Crowne, (notwithstanding his father was a stranger & himselfe borne beyond the seas) raysed such rough warres vppon King *Stephen*, that there was noe end of spoyling the goods and spilling the bloud of the vnhappy people; besides the ruynes and deformities of many Citties and holdes; vntill his lawfull inheritance was to him assured. It terrifieth me to remember how many flourishing Empires, and Kingdomes haue bin by meanes of such contentions eyther torne in peeces with detestfull diuision, or subdued to forren Princes, vnder pretence of assistance and ayde: and I neede not repeate howe fore this realme hath heertofore bene shaken with these feuerall mischieues: and yet neyther the examples of other countries nor the miseries of our own, are sufficient to make vs to beware.

O English men, worse bewitched then the foolish Galathians; our vnstayed mindes and restless resolutions, doe nothing els but hunt after our owne harmes: no people haue more hatred abroad, and none lesse quiet at home; in other countries the sword of inuasion hath been shaken against vs: in our owne land, the fire of insurrection hath bin kindled among vs: & what are these innovations, but what stones

stones to sharpen the one, and bellowes to blowe vp the other?

Certainely I feare that the same will happen vnto vs which *Aesope* fableth to haue been fallen vnto the Frogges; who beeing desirous to haue a King, a beame was giuen vnto them: the first fall whereof did put them in some feare, but when they saw it lye still in the streame, they insulted thereon with great contempt, and desired a king of quicker courage: then was sent vnto them a Storke, which stalking among them with stately steps, continually deuoured them. The mildenesse of king *Richard* hath bred in vs this scorne; interpreting it to be cowardise and dulnes of nature: the next theyre is likewise reiected: I will not say that wyth greater courage we shall finde greater cruelty; but if eyther of these shall heerafter be able to set vp theyr side, and bring the matter to tryall by armes, I do assuredly say, that which part foever shall cary the fortune of the field, the people both wayes must goe to wracke. And thus haue I declared my minde concerning this question, in more wordes then your wisdom, yet fewer then the weight of the cause doth require: and doe boldly conclude, that wee haue neyther power nor policy, eyther to depose king *Richard*, or to elect Duke *Henrie* in his place; that king *Richard* remaineth still our Soueraigne Prince, and therefore it is not lawfull for vs to giue iudgement vpon him; that the Duke whom you call king, hath more offended against the king and the relame, then the king hath done, eyther against him or vs; for being banished the realme for ten yeeres by the king and his counsaile (amongst whome his owne Father was chiefe) and sworne not to returne againe without speciall lycense: he hath not onely violated his oath, but with impious armes disturbed the quiet of the land, and dispossessed the Kyng from his royall estate, and now demaundeth iudgement against his person, without offence proued or defence heard: if this iniury, and this perjury doth nothing moue vs, yet let both

both our priuate and common dangers somewhat withdraw vs from these violent proceedings.

This speech was diuerslie taken, as men were diuersly affected betweene feare, hope, and shame : yet the most parte did make shew for king *Henrie*, and therevpon the Bishop was presently attached by the Earle Marshall, and committed to prison in the Abbey of S. Albones. Whose counsaile and coniecture then contemned, was afterwarde better thought vpon; partly in the life time of king *Henrie*, during whose raigne, almost no yeare passed without great slaughters and executions: but more especially in the times succeeding, when within the space of xxxvi. yeares, twelue set battailes vpon this quarrell were fought within the realme by English men only : and more then foure score Princes of the royall blood slaine one by another.

Then it was concluded, that king *Richard* should be kept in a large prison, with all manner of Princely maintenance : and if any persons should conspire, to reare warre for his deliuerance, that he should be the first man who should suffer death for that attempt. Then the Actes of the Parliament holden at Westminster, in the xi. yeare of King *Richard*, were reuiued ; and the Parliament houlden the xxi. yeare of king *Richard* was wholly repealed : and they who were attainted by that Parliament, were restored againe to their fame and honour, and to their landes without suing lynesie, and to such goods whereof the King was not answered ; except the rents and issues which had bene receiued out of their lands in the meane time. Herevpon *Richard* Earle of Warwicke was deliuered out of prison, and the Earle of Arundelles sonne recouered his inheritance : many others also that were banished or imprisoned by King *Richard*, were then fully restored againe, to their Countrie, libertie, and estate.

It was further provided, that none of those which came in ayde of King *Henrie* against King *Richard*, should for that

that cause be impeached or troubled. Also the King gaue to the Earle of Westmerland the Countie of Richmond; and to the Earle of Northumberland he gaue the Ile of Man, to be houlden of him by the seruice of bearing the sworde, wherewith he entred into England. Diuers other of his followers he aduanced to offices of highest place and charge, some vpon iudgement and for desert, but most part to win fauour, and perhappes proiecting a plot for friends, if times should change: for in many actions men take more care to preuent reuenge, then to leade an innocent and harmlesse life.

It was further agreed, that the procurers of the death and murder of *Thomas* late Duke of Gloucester, should be searched out and seuerely punished. And iudgement was giuen against the appellants of the Earle of Warwicke and the Earle of Arundell, that the Dukes of Aumerle, Suffex, and Exceter, the Marquesse of Dorset, and the Earle of Gloucester who were present, should loose their degree of honour for them and their heyres: that they should likewise loose all the Castles, Mannors, Lordships, &c. then in their hands which sometimes appertained to those whom they did appeale, and that all the letters patents and charters which they had concerning the same, should be surrendred into the Chancery, and there be cancelled: that for all othes their Castles, Mannors, Lordships, possessions, and liberties, they should be at the grace and mercie of the King: that they should giue no liueries, nor keepe any retinue of men, but onely such officers as were meereley necessarie for their degree: that if any of them should adhere to *Richard* the deposed King, in giuing him ayde or encouragement, against the iudgement of his deposition, then he should incurre the paines and forfeitures of hightreason. And because it was a clamorous complaint among the common people, that many officers had committed greuous extortions and wrongs, cyther by the open maintenance or secret conuience of these Lords:

First

The life and raigne of

First those officers were remooued, and that corruption taken away with integritie, which briberie had wrought, in placing (for money) men of bad qualitie, in high degrees of office and seruice: then proclamations were made, that if any man had been oppressed by these Lords, or by any officers vnder them, he should prooue his complaint, and receiue recompence. It was made a question whether it was not meete that these noble men should be put to death: the importunitie of the people, and the perswasion of many great men drew that way, but policie was against it, and especially the opinion of clemencie, which seemed needfull to the setting of a new risen state.

In this parliament also the Lorde *Fitzwater* appealed the sayd Duke of Aumerle, sonne to the Duke of Yorke, vpon points of high treason: likewise the Lord *Morley* appealed *John Montacute* Earle of Salisburie, and moe then twentie other appellants waged battaile; but the king purposing to laye the foundation of his realme by fauour and not by force, gaue pardon and restitution alike to all, vpon sureties and band for their alleageance: and in a sweet and moderate oration, he admonished, and as it were intreated the one part, that ould griefes and grudges should not be renewed, but buried together with the memorie of former times; wherein men were forced to doe many things against their mindes: the other part he desired to be more regardfull of their actions afterward, and for the time past, rather to forget that euer they were in fault, then to remember that they were pardoned. No punishment was laide vpon any, saue onely the Earle of Salisburie and the Lord *Morley*, who had beene in especiall grace and fauour with King *Richard*: these two were committed to prison, but at the sute of their friends they were soone released: the rest the King receiued freelye to fauour, but most especially the Duke of Aumerle, and the Duke of Excester, Lord Gouvernour of Calice. The Duke of Aumerle was couzen germaine to both the kings: *John Hol-*
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land Duke of Excester, was halfe brother to King *Richard*, and brother in lawe to King *Henrie*; whose sister, the Lady *Elizabeth* he had taken to wife. The greatest matter that was enforced against them, was their loyaltie vnto King *Richard*: (a grieuous crime among rebels) because they did not onlie stomacke and storme at his deiection, but stirre also more then others, and assaye to raise forces on his behalfe. The Dukes bouldly confessed the accusation, that they were indeed vnfortunatly faithfull to King *Richard*: but as those who once are false, doe seldome afterwards proue soundly firme, so they that haue shewed themselues true to one prince may the better be trusted by any other. The King did rather admit this as a defence, then remit it as a fault: affirming, that such examples were not to be mislaked of Princes: so he entred with them into great termes of friendship, and put them in place neerest his person, endeavouring by courtesie and liberalitie, to make them fast and faithful vnto him: this fact was diuerslie interpreted, according to mens seuerall dispositions, some admiring the kings moderation, others disliking and disallowing his confidence; and indeed although these meanes haue to this purpose preuailed with some, yet the common course may moue vs commonly to coniecture, that there is little assurance in reconciled enemies: whose affections (for the most part) are like vnto Glasse, which beeing once cracked, can neuer bee made otherwise then crazed and vnbound.

Furthermore, to qualifie all preiudice and hard opinion which other princes might chaunce to conceiue, King *Henrie* dispatched Embassadors to diuers countries neere vnto him, to make it knowne by what title, and by what fauour and desire of all the people he atteyned the kingdome. To the court of Rome hee sent *John Treuant* Bishop of Hereford, Sir *John Cheyne* Knight, and *John Cheyne* Esquire: into Fraunce hee sent *Walter Shirlowe* Bishop of Durham, and Lord *Thomas Percy*, Earle of Worcester: into Spaine

he sent *John Trivet* Bishop of *S. Asaphes*; and *William Parry* and into *Armaine* he sent the Bishop of *Bangor*, and certaine other. Most of these Princes (as in a matter which little concerned eyther their honour or their harme) seemed eyther not to regarde what was doone, or easily to bee perswaded that all was doone well. But *Charles* King of *Fraunce*, was so distempered at this dishonourable dealing with his sonne in lawe King *Richard*, that by violence of his passion, he fell into his oulde panges of phrensie: and at the last by helpe of Physicke returning to the sobriety of his senses, he purposed to make sharpe warre vpon that disloyall people (as he termed them) for this iniurie against their lawfull and harmlesse Prince. Many noble men of *Fraunce* shewed themselves verye forward to enter into the seruice, but especially the Earle of *Saint Paule*, who had married King *Richard*'s halfe Sister. So letters of defiance were sent into *England*, and great preparation was made for the warre.

Likewise the newes of these nouelties much abashed the *Aquitanes* (who were at that time vnder the *English* subiection) and plunged their thoughts in great perplexities. Some were grieved at the infamous blemish of the *English* nation, who had disloyed their honour with the spot of such disloyall dealing: others feared the spoyle of their goods, and oppression of their liberties by the *Frenchmen*; against whose violence they suspected that the realme of *England*, being distracted into ciuill factions, eyther would not attend, or should not be able to beare them out: but the *Citizens* of *Burdeaux* were chiefly anguished in respect of King *Richard*, partlie fretting at his iniurie, and partlie lamenting his infortunie; because he was borne and brought vpp within theyr Citie. And thus in the violence, some of theyr anger, some of theyr grieve, and some of their feare, in this sort they did generally complaine.

O good

O good God (sayd they) where is the world become? saines are turned to Serpents, and Doucaine to diuels. The English nation which hath been accompted fierce onely against theyr foes, and alwaye faithful to their friends; are now become both fierose and faithlesse against their lawfull and loving Prince, and haue most barbarously be trayed him. Who would euer haue thought that Christians, that ciuill people, that any men, would thus haue violated all religion, all lawes, and all honest and orderlie demeanour? And although the heauens blush at the view, and the earth sweats at the burthen of such a villanie, and all wittie people shake their heads, open shame and confusion against them; yet they neither feele the honour, nor shrink at the shame, nor cease the reuenge, but stand upon scarpes, some of defence, for the falsnesse of their dealing, and some of offence for the necessity. Well, let the miserable world be ended with many reuenges; yet shall they neuer be able to escape, yea the sight ouerwaight of Almighty God, is such we daily expect, and earnestly desire to be powred vpon them. Alas good King Richard, thy nature was too gentle, and thy gouernement too milde for so stiffe and stubborne a people: what King wil euer repose any trust in such vnnatural subtleties, but foster them with leaues as they use with Irons? What canage lettraire can recouer theyr credite? What time wyll be sufficient to blotte out this blemish? What other action could they haue doone, more ioyfull to theyr enemyes, more wofull to theyr friendes, and more shamefull to themselves? Oh corruption of times! Oh conditions of men! new aduises of wittes are sturtefull and durtie.

The Frenchman were nothing discontented at this discontentment of the Aquitanes, supposing that opportunitie was then offered, to get into theyr possession the Duchie of Guian, if cyther power or pollicie were there to apply it. Henryson Lewis Duke of Bucken came adowne

to Angiers, who from thence sent many messengers to the chiefe cities of Guian, and by faire speeches and large promises, solicited the people to change allegiance: on the contrarie side, sir *Roberts Knewin* Lieutenant of Guian, endeavored with all diligence to repress the mutinous, to staye the doubtfull, to confirme the good, and to rectifie all in order and obedience: but he profited very little, whether by the weaknesse of his owne arme, or stiff necke of the people it is not certainly assured. Neither did the Duke of Burbon much perswade, when it was considered, how ponderous the yoke of France was about the English subjects: for all men were well acquainted with what tributes and taxation the Frenchmen were charged, having in every countie Lieutenants and Treasurers assigned, the one to draw the bloud, the other the substance of the English subjects, whose crueltie and covetousnesse laide hold without exception vpon all, the one tormenting by force, and the other vndoing by lawe. Thus stood the Aquaintance vpon tickle termes betwene obedience and revolt, the shippe which the winde driveth one way, and the tide another: desirous they were to displease the English, but loath to endanger and vndoe themselves.

Vpon advertisement whereof, King *Henry* sent into Guian the Lord *Thomas Percie* Earle of Worcester, whom he knew to bee faithfull vnto him, and expert in matters of charge, having in his companie a strong and serviceable band of Souldiers: who not by unreasonable exprobering their fault, but by reason conuincing it, partly with his wisdom and credite so perswaded, and partly with his authoritie and forces so terrified the wavering people, that he wanne them to his opinion, and confirmed them in their allegiance; the greater sort with respect of dutie and faith, the rest with regard and feare of danger. Then hee receiued oathes of obedience vnto King *Henry*, and planted certaine strong garrisons in places of chiefe

chiese import, without molestation if they remained quiet, and yet of force to repress them if they should rebell. This done, he returned againe into England, where he shewed an excellent example of moderation, in seeming rather to haue found then to haue made the Aquitaines duetifull subiectes.

No sooner could this stir be stinted, but another more dangerous and desperate did forthwith arise: for diuerse noble men who eyther had dissembled, or did repent the furtherance that they vsed to the aduancement of King *Henrie* did conspire together to compass his destruction: the histories of this time doe vary, concerning the causes of this conspiracy; whether it were for fauour to King *Richard*, as the nature of man is inclinable to beholde sodaine misfortune with a pittifull eye; or for enuy to King *Henrie*, as commonly wee can endure excessive fortune, no where so little as in those that haue bene in equall degrees with our selves; or whether upon dishonours received in the late *Battle of Tewkesbury*, as upon dishonour to see others goe before them in the Princes fauour; many sought to reuenge their mist anger with lewde disloyaltye: likewise it is not assuredly knowne by what meanes the workers thereof were drawne together, and the secret deuises of some imparted to the rest: whether one of them did perswade another to enter into the action; or whether all were induced by the same vnconstant disposition and light account of faith: which being once falsed to King *Richard*, was afterwarde vpon every light discontentment, lytle respected to any: but concerning these matters, the most current report is this.

There was at that time an Abbot of Westminster, one that applyed his studies, not as the most part, to cloake idleness and sloth vnder the glorious tytle of religion, but to enable him selfe for counsaile and direction in publique affaires: who for the generall opinion of his wisdoms

and integritie, was in good fauour and credit with King *Richard*, and did accompany him in his last voyage into Ireland.

This Abbot called to his remembrance, a speech which hee heard once fall from King *Henry*, when hee was but Earle of Derby, and not yet come to any great stayednesse, eyther in yeares or iudgement; that Princes had too little, and religious men too much.

At that time the riches of the church were growne so great, that many began to looke vpon them with an enuious eye: but least countenlesse should shew it selfe with open face, policie was pretended, and the success thought dangerous, both to the King and also to the church: as verie like to cause want to the one, and wastonnesse in the other.

Herevpon many billes had beene put vppo in the parliaments holden in the reigne of King *Richard*, that petition might be made to repress the increase of religious possessions: namely, that inquisition and redresse might be had against such religious persons, as vnder the licence to purchase ten pounds yealie, did purchase four score, or a hundred pounds: and also against such religious persons as caused their villaines to take to their wiues free women inheritable, whereby the landes came to those religious mens hands: yea it was moued in open Parliament, that the king should seaze into his hands, all the temporall liuings of religious houses, as beeing rather a burthen then a benefite vnto religion.

Vppon the and the like petitions, the Archbishop of Canterburie, and the Archbishop of Yorke, for themselves and the Clergie of their Prouinces, were oftentimes compelled to make their solempne protestations in open Parliament, that if any thing were attempted in restraint of the libertie of the Church, they would in no wise assent, but vterlic withstand the same, to which their protestations

tions they required to be enrolled.

So partly vpon loue to King *Richard*, and partly vpon feare, least King *Henry* would bee as ready to inuade, as hee was to enueigh against the richesse of religious houses: this Abbot was the first man that blew the coales, and put seuell to the fire of this confederacy. And first hee obserued a fare off, then hee searched more neerely and narrowly (and yet warily too) howe the myndes of certaine Noble men were affected, or rather infected agaynst King *Henrie*; tempering his speeches in such sorte, that if matters sorted to his minde, hee myght take them vpon him, if his courses were crossed, he might cleerely disclaime them: at last hee inticed to his house vpon a daye, in Michaelmas terme, those whome hee had sounded to bee moste sound for his purpose: the chiefe of whome were such as in the Parlament before had in some sorte bene touched in reputation, although by pardon and reconclement the harme did seeme to bee closed vp: thei names were *John Holland* Duke of Excester, of whome mention hath bene made before, *Thomas Holland* his brothers Sonne, Duke of Surrey, *Edward* Duke of Aumerle, *John Montacute* Earle of Salisburie, *Hugh Spencer* Earle of Glocester, *John* Bishoppe of Caerliche, *Sir Thomas Biant*, and *Margalen* one of King *Richards* Chappell, who in allpointes both of feature and fauour, so neerely resembled King *Richard*, that the Lordes dissembled afterwardesthat hee was King *Richard* indeed.

These and some others were highly feasted by the Abbot: and after dinner they withdrew themselves, into a secret Chamber to counsaile: heere the Duke of Excester, who was moste hotly bent eyther to restore, or to reuenge the cause of his deposed brother, declared vnto the rest, the alleagance that they had sworne vnto King *Richard*: the honours and prefermentes wherunto they were

were by him aduanced: that therefore they were bounde both in conscience by the one, and in kinde by the other, to take his part against all men: that king *Henry* contrary to both, had dispoyled him of his royall dignity, and vniuersally possessed himselfe thereof, whilst they stood looking on, and shewed neyther the obedience of subiectes, nor loue of fricodes, as though they were men who knewe to doe any thing, better then to defend, and if neede were to dye for theyr lawfull Prince and loving patron: that king *Henry* by violent invading, or fraudulent insinuating himselfe, into the kingdome of his naturall and leige Prince, was but a tyrant, and vsurper, and such a one as it was lawfull for any man, by any meanes to throw downe, without respect whether he were a good man or euill, for it is lawfull for no man, vpon pretence and shewe of goodnesse to draw souerainty vnto himselfe: that the lawes and examples of best gouerned common wealthes, did not onely permit this action but highly honoured it with statues and garlandes, and tytes of nobility, and also rewarded it with all the wealth of the suppressed tyrant: that this enterprize would be very profitable, and almost necessarie to the common wealth, by extinguishing those warres which the Scots menaced, the Frenchmen prepared, and the Welshmen had already begun vpon this occasion and quarrell: that he did not distrust but it might be accomplished by open armes, but he thought it more sure for them, and for the common wealth more safe, to put first in prooffe some secret policie: and to that purpose he deuised, that a solemne Iustes should be challenged, to be kept at Oxforde, in Christmasse holydaies, betweene him and twentie on his part, and the Earle of Salisburie and twentie on his part, to which king *Henry* should be inuited: and when he was most intentiue in regarding their militarie disport, he should sodainlie be surprized by men which without suspition might at that time be assembled, both for number and preparation sufficient for the exploit,

exployt, and thereby King *Richard* presently bee restored, both to his liberty, and to his state.

This deuise was no sooner vttered, then allowed and applauded of the rest of the confederates: and so resoluing vpon the enterprize, they tooke an oath vpon the Euangelistes, the one to be true and secret to the other, euen to the houre and point of death: the Lords also made an Indenture sextipartite wherein they bound themselues, to doe their best assaÿ, for the death of the one king and deliuerance of the other: this they sealed and subscribed, and deliuered to euery Lord a counter pane of the same: and further they concluded what forces should be gathered, by whome, howe they should be ordred and placed, and to whose trust the execution should be committed.

When all things were thus contriued, and theyr hungry ambitious mindes were well filled with the vaine winds of hope and desire: the Duke of Exceter came to the king at Windfore, and desired him for the loue that he bare to the noble feates of Cheualry, that he would vouchsafe to honour with his presence the martiall exercise, that was appointed betweene him and the Earle of Salisbury, and to be the iudge of theyr performances if any controuersie should arise.

The king supposing that to be intended indeed, which was pretended in shew, easily yeelded to his request. The Duke supposing his purpose now halfe performed, departed to his house, and so did the other confederates: where they busily bestirred themselues, in raising men, and preparing horse and armour for the accomplishment of thys acte.

When the Dutchesse of Exceter, king *Henries* Sister, perceiued the drift of the deuise, and saw that the Duke was vpon his journey: alas good Lady howe was shee distracted in minde, with a sharpe conflict of her conceiptes?

The life and raigne of

one waye she was mouued with nature towards her brother; another waye shee was more strongly stirred, with loue towards her Lord and husband; and both wayes shee was deuided in dutie. And what (sayd shee) is this loue then against nature? or about it? shall I bee vndurifull to my Prince? or is no dutie comparable to the dutie of a wife? heigh ho: in what perplexities (wretched woman) am I plunged, to see my two deereſt friends in this caſe of extremitie, that (it is doubtfull which but) certainlie one muſt be ruined by the other. Heerewith ſuch a ſhower of teares ſtreamed downe her cheekes, that it drowned her ſpeech, and ſtopped the paſſage of further complaint: which when the Duke eſpyed, hee ſtepped vnto her, and ſeizing ſoſlie vppon her hand, vſed theſe wordes. What Beſſe? is it kindneſſe to me or kindred to your brother that thus hath ſet your eyes on floate? Content your ſelfe woman, for whatſoeuer the euent ſhall be, it cannot bee euill to you, nor worſe to me then now it is. For if my purpoſe preuaile, and my brother bee reſtored againe to his crowne, both of vs ſhall be ſure neuer to decline: if it bee preuented, and your brother continue ſtill in his eſtate, no harme ſhall be doone vnto you, and I ſhall be then ſure of that diſtruction which I doe now continually dread: the feare whereof in expecting, is a greater torment then the paine in ſuffering. When hee had thus ſaide, hee kiſſed her, and ſo leauing her to the torture of a thouſand thornie thoughts, he tooke his iorney towards Oxforde, with a great company both of Archers and Horſemen. There he found all the reſt of his complices, well armed and banded, except onely the Duke of Aumerle.

The King alſo hearing that both the Challengers and defendants were in a readineſſe, determined the daye following to ride to Oxforde, according to his promiſe and appointment.

Now

K. Henrie the fourth.

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Now the confederates much maruailed at the stay of the Duke of Aumerle, some onely blamed his slacknesse, others began to suspect it, euery man coniectured as he was diuersly affected betweene confidence and feare : and in this confusion of opinions, they sent vnto him in poste, to knowe the certaine truth. Before the messenger came to the Duke, hee was departed from Westminster towards Oxford, not the direct way, but went first to see his Father the Duke of York, and carried with him his counterpane of the Indenture of confederacy. As they sate at dinner, the Father espied it in his bosome, and demaunded what it was? the Sonne humbly craued pardon, and said that it nothing touched him, by S. George (quoth the Father) but I will see it : and so whether vpon a precedent ielosie, or some present cause of suspicion, he tooke it away from him by force. When he perceiued the contents, he sodainely arose from the table, & with great fiercenesse both of countenance and speech, vttered to his Sonne these wordes.

I see traytor, that idlenesse hath made thee so wanton and mutinous, that thou playest with thy faith, as children doe with stickes : thou hast been once already faithlesse to King *Richard*, & now again art false to King *Henrie*, so that the like fish *Sepia*, thou troublest all the waters wherein thou liuest. Thou knowest that in open Parliament I became suertie and pledge for thy alleageance, both in bodye and goods : and can neither thy dutie, nor my desert restraine thee, from seeking my destruction? in faith, but I will rather helpe forwarde thine. With that hee commaunded his Horfes to bee made readie, and presently tooke his iorneye towards Windfore, where the King then laye.

The Duke of Aumerle had no time eyther to consulte with his friends, or to consider with himselfe what was best to bee doone: but taking aduise vpon the sodaine,

he mounted likewise on horsebacke , and posted towards Windfore another way . It was no neede to force him forward , his youthfull bloud , and his sodaine daunger were in steed of two winges , to keep his horse in *Pegasus* pace : so that he came to Windfore , & was alighted at the Castell , before his stiffe aged Father could come neere . Then hee entred the gates , and caused them to be surely locked , and tooke the Keyes into his owne hands , pretending some secret cause for which he would deliuer them vnto the King . When he came in presence , he kneeled downe and humbly craued of the King mercie and forgiuenesse . The king demaunded for what offence ? Then with a confused voice , and sad countenance , casting downe his eyes as altogether abashed , partly with feare of his daunger , and partly with shame of his discredit ; he declared vnto the King all the manner of the conspiracie . The King seemed neither rashlie to belecue , nor negligentlie to distrust the Dukes report ; neyther stood it with pollicie to enteraine the discoverie with any hard and violent vsage : therefore with gracious speeches he comforted the Duke , and if this bee true , sayd he , we pardon you : if it be feined , at your extreame perill be it .

By this time the Duke of Yorke was rapping at the Castle gates , and being admitted to the Kings presence , he deliuered to him the endenture of confederacie , which hee had taken from his sonne . When the King had redde it , and was thereby perswaded of the trueth of the matter , he was not a little disquieted in minde , complaining of the vnconstant disposition of those men , whom neyther crueltie (he said) could make firme to King *Richard* , nor clemencie to him ; but vppon dislike of euery present government , they were desirous of any change . So being possessed with deeper thoughts then to gaze vppon games , he layde his iorney aside , and determined to attend at Windfor , what course his

his enemies would take, and which waye they would set forward: knowing right well that in ciuill tumults, an aduised patience, and opportunitie well taken, are the onely weapons of aduantage; and that it is a speciall point of wisdom, to make benefit of the enemyes follie. In the meane time he directed his letters to the Earle of Northumberland his high Constable, and to the Earle of Cumberland his high Marshall, and to others his most assured friends, concerning these sodaine and vnexpected accidents.

The confederates all this time hearing nothing of the Duke of Aumerle, and seeing no preparation for the Kings comming, were out of doubt that theyr treason was betrayed. And now considering that once before they had beene pardoned, the guilt of this their rebellion, excluded them from all hope of further mercie: wherevpon they became desperate, and so resolved to prosecute that by open armes, wherein their priue practises had failed. And first they apparlled *Magdalen* (a man very like to King *Richard* both in stature and countenance, and of yeares not disagreeable) in princely attire; and gaue soorth that hee was King *Richard*, and that eyther by fauour or negligence of his keepers, he was escaped out of prison, and desired the faith and ayde of his louing subiects. Then they determined to dispatche messengers to *Charles* King of Fraunce, to desire his helpe and assistance on the behalfe of his sonne in lawe, if need should require.

The common people, which commonlie are soone changeable, and on the sodaine as prone to pittie as they were before excessively cruell, most earnestlie wished the enlargement of King *Richard*, and earnestly wishing, did easely beleue it: in which imaginarie conceit, being otherwise men of no deepe search, the presence of *Magdalene* most strongly confirmed them: and so eyther vpon ignorance of truth, or delight in trouble, they ioyned themselues in great troops

to the Lords; desiring nothing more then to be the meanes whereby King *Richard* should be restored, as in a manner resuming their first affections and humors towards him. Then the Lords of this association with great force, but with greater fame, as the manner is of matters vnknowne, aduanced forward in battaile arraye towards Windfore, against King *Henrie*, as against an enemye of the common state; hauing in theyr company aboute fortie thousand armed men. The King vpon intelligence of theyr approache, secretlye with a few horse, the next Sunday night after Newyeres day, departed from Windfore to the Tower of London, and the same night before it was daye, the confederates came to the Castle of Windfore: where missing their expected praye, they stood doubtfull and deuided in opinions, which waye to bend their course. Some aduised them with all speede to follow the King to London, and not to leaue him any leaue and libertie, to vnite an armie against them: that Winter was no let but in idle and peaceable times: that in ciuill discentions nothing is more safe then speede, and greater aduantage alwayes groweth by dispatching then deferring: that whilest some were in feare, some in doubt, and some ignorant, the Citie, yea the realme might easilye be possessed: and that many armies whose furie at the first rush could not be resisted, by delayes did weare out, and waste to nothing. Others who would seeme to bee considerate and wise, but in verye deede were noe better then dastardes, perswaded rather to set King *Richard* first at libertie; for if theyr counterfeiting should be discouered before they possessed themselues of his person, the people vndoubtedly would fall from them to the certaine confusion of them all. Herevpon they gaue ouer the pursuite, and retired to Colebrooke, and there delayed out the time of dooing, in deliberating, being neyther couragiouslye quicke, nor considerately stayed, but faintlie and fearefullye shrinking backe:

backe: and when they once beganne to relent, they decreased euery daye more and more both in power and in hope.

King *Henrie* the next morning after hee was come to the Tower, sent to the Maior of the Citie to put Souldiours in armes for his resistance, who presentlye presented vnto him three thousand Archers, and three thousand bill men, besides those that were appointed for defence of the Citie. The King spent vpon him many good speeches, and liberally loaded him with promises and thanks; and soone after he issued out of London, with twentie thousand tall men, and came to Hounslow Heath, abiding there, and as it were daring his enemyes to ioyne issue in the field: contemning theyr disorderlye multitude, as a vayne terrour of names without forces. But the confederates eyther for feare of the Kings power, or for distrust of theyr owne, or else lingring, perhappes, after some succour out of Fraunce, refused the encounter, and doubtfull it is whether they shewed greater courage in setting vp the danger, or cowardise in declining it when it was presented vnto them.

So they departed from Colebrooke to Sunnings, a place neere Redding, where Queene *Isabell*, King *Richardes* wife did then abyde: to whom vpon the plaine trueth before declared, fame had falslye descanted, that King *Richard* was escaped out of prison, and did lye at Pomfret with a hundred thousand armed men; and that King *Henrie* for feare of him, was fledde with his children and friendes to the Tower of London. All which was as lightlye beleueed, as it was vainlye toulde: where vpon thee defaced King *Henries* armes, and plucked away his cognisance from those his seruants that attended vpon her; and hauing in some sorte satisfied her womanish anger, with this harmelesse spight, she and the
Lords

Lordes departed together first to Wallingforde, and from thence to Abington, stirring the people by the way to take armour, and to rise in ayde of king *Richard*, who was (saide they) and is, and should be their Prince.

At the last they came to Chichester, and there the Lordes tooke theyr lodgings, the Duke of Surrey and the Earle of Salisburie in one Inne; the Duke of Exceter and the Earle of Gloucester in another; and all the hoast encamped in the fields. But the Bayliffe of the towne, suspecting all this countenance to be but the vaine flashe of a false fire, did in the night with about foure score Archers, beset and set vpon the house where the Duke of Surrey and the Earle of Salisburie laye: who were men but of weake resistance by nature, but being put vpon necessitie, shewed great manhood and persistance in defending themselves against the townsmen. The Duke of Exceter and the Earle of Gloucester being in another Inne, were not able by force to rescue their associates; wherevpon a certaine Priest of their companye set diuers houses in the towne on fire, supposing thereby to diuert the townsmen from theyr assault, to the sauing of their houses and of their goods: but this fire greatly inflamed their furie, and made them more obstinate in their attempt; crying out that they would neuer labour to rescue their losses, but to reuenge them; and that with the bloud of the Lordes, those flames should be quenched. Then there arose confused clamours and noyses, all the towne being in an uproare and in armes, shooting fiercelie and running vpon the Lords with a rashe and desperate rage; not caring to loose many, wherof they had many to spare.

When the Earle of Exceter and they that were with him perceiued the force of the assaylants daungerouslie to encrease, and that it was impossible for a few to susteine the furie of so many so obstinately bent: they fledde out of the backe side towards the campe, intending to bring the whole
armie

army to the rescue: but the soldiers having heard a tumult, and seeing fire within the towne, supposed that the King was entred with all his puissance: whereupon being strooke with a sodaine and false feare, and wanting a commander of courage to confirme them, they ran away, and dispersed themselves without measure; and so whilst every man endeavoured to save himselfe, all were brought to their confusion.

Thus the Duke of Surrey, and the Earle of Salisbury, & the Lords & Gentlemen which were in their company, were left to defend themselves against the townsmen as they could: who manfully maintained the fight with great bloodshed of their enemies, from midnight untill three of the clocke the next day in the after noone: at the last, being inferior both in number and fortune, the Duke and the Earle were wounded to death and taken, and the same evening their heades were stricken off and sent to London: there were also taken Sir *Renet Shelley*, Sir *Barnard Brokes*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and 28. other Lordes, Knights and Gentlemen; who were sent to Oxford, where the King then lay, and there were put to execution.

The Duke of Excester when he found the army dispersed and fled, fled likewise with Sir *John Shelley* into Essex, lamenting the certaine destruction which his rashnesse had procured to himselfe, and to his friends, but most especially to King *Richard*; if not as a party, yet as a cause of this unhappy tumult; many times he did attempt to have escaped by sea into Fraunce, but he was alwayes driven backe by distresse of weather; and so wandring and lurking in secret places, hee was at the last attached as hee sat at supper in a certaine friendes house, and led to *Plashy*, and there shortly after beheaded: so that a man might probably conjecture that the death of the Duke of Gloucester was then brought in reckoning, who by his counsell and contri-

uaine chiefly, in the same place had been apprehended. An excellent example for all those which measure their actions either by their pleasure, or by their power: that reuenge of iniurious dealing, although it be prolonged, yet doth neuer faile, but commeth surely, although perhaps slowly. This duke was a man of high parentage, of a frank minde, and wealth and worthy, therunto openly praise-worthy, but his secret actions were hardly spoken of; he was of consent to all his brothers vices, and of counsaile to many, yet somewhat the more close and vigilant man: and not so much partaker of his prosperity, as violently carried with the current of his misery. *h. bonier man vll. h. m. o. d. n.*
 This Earle of Gloucester fled towards Wales, but was forelayed and taken, and beheaded at Bristol: *M. y. d. l. e. n.* the countesse of King Richard flying into Scotland, was apprehended and brought to the Tower, and after ward hanged and quartered, with *W. F. e. b. y.* another of King Richardes Chapleines. Diuerse other Lordes and Knights and Gentlemen, and a great number of meane and base persons were in other places put to death: insomuch as the King though otherwise of a very temperate and inextingible nature, seemed to shew too hard and haughty dealing in reuenging his owne iniury, or rather maintaining the iniury he had done: the heads of the chiefe conspirators, were pitched vpon poles, and set ouer London Bridge: in al other partes of the realme a spectacle both lamentable and terribly was presented to the view and terrour of our eyes: bodies hewen in peeces, heads and quarter of vnfortunate distressed wretches putrifing aboue ground: not al for desert, but many to iustify either the mallice, or want of King Henrys friends: insomuch as many gentlemen openly gaue forth that in short time there would be cause to wish King Richard again, as being more tollerable, to endure the cruelty of one, then of many, and to liue where nothing, then where any thing

thing might be permitted.

The Abbot of Westminster in whose house and in whose head this confederacy began, hearing of these adventures, as he was going between his monastery and his mansion, fell suddenly into a palsey, and hardly after without speech ended his life; and although in this enterprize fortune gaue policy the check, and by a strange accident which wisdom could not foresee, ouerturned the devise, yet is it certainly affirmed that this Abbot first stirred the stone, which rowling a long, was like to haue turned king *Henry* out of his seat. The bishop of Caerliel, was condemned vpon this treason, but the extremitie of his feare, and grieve, closed vp his daies, and preuented the violence and shame of publicke execution. And now king *Richard* after he had abdicated his dignity, did but short time enjoy that sweet security, which he did vainely expect; and first all his goods which hee did giue in satisfaction of the iniuries that hee had done, were brought to deuision and share amongst his enemies: shortly after he was remooued from the Tower, to the Castle of Leedes in Kent; and from thence to Pomfret, to the ende that by often changing hee might eyther more secretly be dispatched, or more vncertainly found: heere being kept in streight prison, both innocent & ignorant of this offence, was notwithstanding made a party in the punishment. For King *Henry* perceiuing that the Lords so far preuailed with their late stratagem, that if their stomacke had bin answerable to their strength, & their bloud beginning had not ended in faintnes and sloath, they might haue driuen him to a hard hazard; caused King *Richard* to be put to death intending to make sure, that no man should cloake open rebellion, vnder the colour of following sides, nor countenance his conspiracy, either with the person or name of *K. Richard*; whether hee did expressly commaund his death, or no, it is a question; out of question he shewed some liking and desire

to the action, and gaue allowance thereto when it was doone.

The most current report at that time went, that hee was princely serued euery day at the Table, with aboundance of costlie meates, according to the order prescribed by Parliament, but was not suffered to tast or touche any one of them; and so perished of famine; being tormented with the presence of that, wherof hee dyed for want, but such horrible and vnnaturall crueltie, both against a King and a kinsman, should not proceed from King *Henrie* (me thinke) a man of a moderate and milde disposition, nor yet from any other minde which is not altogether both sauage in humanitie, and in religion prophane. One wrighter who would seeme to haue the perfect intelligence of these assayres, maketh report, that King *Henrie* sitting at his table, sad and pensieue, with a deepe sigh brake forth into these wordes: Haue I no faithfull friend that will deliuer me of him, whose life will breed destruction to me and disturbance to the realme, and whose death will bee a safetie and quiet to both? for how can I be free from feare, so long as the cause of my daunger dooth continue? and what securitie, what hope shall we haue of peace, vnlesse the seede of sedition be vterly rooted out?

Vppon this speech a certaine Knight called Sir *Pierce* of *Extone*, presently departed from the Court, accompanied with eyght tall men, and came to *Pomfretre*, and there commaunded, that the Esquire who was accustomed to sewe, and take the assaye before King *Richard*, should no more vse that manner of seruice: and let him (quoth he) now eate wel, for he shall not eate long. King *Richard* sate downe to dinner, and was serued without courtesie or assaye, wherewith he merueyled, and demaunded of the Esquire, why he did not his dutie? the Esquire answered, that he was otherwise commaunded by Sir *Pierce* of *Extone*, who was lately come from

from King *Henry*. The King being somewhat moued at this acte and answere, tooke the caruing knife in his hand, and strucke the Esquire therewith lightly on the head, saying, the deuill take *Henry* of Lancaster and thee together: with that Sir *Pierce* entred the chamber, with eight men in harneys, every one hauing a byll in his hand: Wherevpon King *Richard* perceiuing their drift and his owne danger, put the table from him, and stepping stoutlye to the foremost man, wrested the bill out of his hand, wherewith (although vnarmed and alone) he manfully defended himselfe a good space, and slew fowre of his assailants. Sir *Pierce* leapt to the chaire where king *Richard* was wonte to sit, whilst the rest chased him about the chamber. At the last being forced towards the place where Sir *Pierce* was, he with a stroke of his Pollaxe felled him to the ground: and forthwith he was miserably rid out of his miserable life. It is saide that at the pointe of his death, hee gathered some spirit; and with a fainte and feeble voyce, groaned forth these wordes.

My great grandfacher King *Edward* the second, was in this manner depoid, imprisoned, and murdered; by which meanes my grandfather king *Edward* the third obteyned possession of the crowne; and now is the punishment of that intrie powred vpon his next successour. Well, this is righte for mee to suffer, but not for you to doe: your King for a tyme may ioye at my death, and enioye his desire; but see him qualifie his pleasures with expectation of the like iustice: for God who measureth all our actions by the malice of our mindes, will not suffer this violence vnreun-
ged.

Whether these words proceeded from a distempered desire, or from the iudgement of his foresight, they were not altogether idle and vaine. For Sir *Pierce* expecting great fauour and rewards for his vngracious seruice, was frustrated.

of both, and not onely missed that countenance for which he hoped, but lost that which before he had: so odious are vices euen where they are profitable.

Hereupon hee grew at the first discontented, and afterwards mightely stirrmoyled and tormented in conscience; and raging against himselfe, would often exclaime, that to pleasure one vnthankfull person, he had made both himselfe and his posteritie, hatefull and infamous to all the world.

King *Henrie* with great discontentment and disquiet held the kingdome during his life: and so did his sonne King *Henrie* the fifth: in whose time, by continuall warres against the French, the malice of the humour was otherwise exercised and spent. But his second successor, King *Henry* the sixth was dispossessed thereof, and together with his young sonne *Henry* imprisoned and put to death, eyther by the commaundement or conuicence of King *Edward* the fourth, who at London, by open violence, had come to the crown.

And hee also escaped not free; for hee dyed not without many and manifold suspicions of poison: and after his death, his two sonnes were disinherited, imprisoned, and butchered by their cruell Vnckle the Duke of Gloucester, who being a tyrant and usurper, was lawfully slaine in the field; and so in his person (having no issue) the tragédie did end. Which are inostrare and excellent examples, both of comfort to them that are oppressed, and of terror to violent dealers; that God in his secret iudgement dooth not alwayes so certainly prouide for our safete, as reuenge our iniuries and hatenes: and that all our vniust actions haue a day of payment, and many times by way of retaliation, euen in the same manner and measure wherein they were committed. And thus was King *Richard* brought to his death, by violence and force: as all wrighters agree, although all agree

agree not leppon the manner of the violence of life; was a man of portraige, rather well proportioned, then tall; of great beautie, and grace, and comelinesse in presence; hee was of a good strength, and no abiect spirit; but the one by ease, the other by straitie, were much abused; hee served many friends; but found few; that used him more by liberalitie, then vertuous dealing; hee was mercifull; in fortune in all his actions; whether by nature well be improved, or in negligence and sloth; for hee that is not provident can seldom prosper; but by his loosenesse, with good advantage, fortune, or other means laboured to overthrow him; and that hee felt not was related to his death; for hee being contented it as a benefite, to be discharged of his small sinne, hee whilke rather than will be his he; to put theyr goods, and lives, and souls in hazard, and good men should know this.

Hee lived thre and thirtie yeares, and reigned two and twentieth; his dead body was embawled, and straitly guarded with Lead and Iron; his face, and carryed no longer; and in all the chief places by his waye, his face was roundly set forth, with that by view thereof no doubt should be made of his death. At London hee had a solempne obsequie kept in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul; the King being present, and all the chiefe nobles of the Commonod and shires being also present. Then he was conveyed to Langley Abbey in Bucking-hamshire, about twenty miles from London; and there obscurely buried by the Bishop of Chester, the Abbot of S. Albons, and the Abbot of Waltham, without presence of noble men, without confluence of the common people, and without the charge of a dinner for celebrating the service; but after, upon the commandment of King Henry the fifth, his body was taken up, and removed to Westminster; and honourably entombed among his ancestors

with

with Queene Anne his wife, in expiation (as it is like) of his Fathers violent and vnfaithfull dealing. So be it whose life was alwaies tumultuous and vnquiet, could not readily finde rest for his bones, euen after death. It was not amiss in regard of the common wealth that he was dead; yet they who caused his death had small reason to reckon it among their good deedes.

And thus doe these and the like accidents daily happen to such Princes as will be absolute in power, resolute in will, and vsolute in life.

This yeere *Hunsfry* the sonne and heire of the Duke of Gloucester, dyed of the plague as he returned out of Ireland where King *Richard* had kept him prisoner; and shortly after the Duchesse his mother with violence of griefe ended her dayes; this yeere also dyed *Thomas Mowbray* the exiled duke of Norfolke, whose death would much haue been lamented, if he had not furthered so many lamentable deaths: but he ouerliued his honour, & saw himselfe accounted a person infamous and of no estimation. Likewise about this time *John* Duke of Brittain deceased, who had taken to wife *Mary* daughter to King *Edward* the third, and by her had no issue, but by *Joan* his second wife he left behinde him three sons, *John*, *Richard* & *Arthur*: this *Joan* was afterwards married to *K. Henrie*, as hereafter shall appeare. Also this yeere *Edmund* Duke of Yorke departed this life, his honour not stayned, his fame not touched: he was a man very circumspect and wary in his carriage; not carelesse of a good fame, nor greedy after a great: of other mens wealth not desirous, liberall of his owne, and of the common sparing: he did not by obstinate opposing himselfe against the current of the time, rashly hasten, either his fame or his fall, but by moderation attained safely that degree of praise, and honour, which others aspiring vnto by desperate courtes, wanne with ambitious death, without any other profit at all. He left behinde him

two noble sonnes, expresse resemblencers of his integritie: *Edward*, who succeeded in his dignitie, and before was called Duke of Aumerle, and *Richard* Earle of Cambridge. *Edward*, in the change of the state, neither constantlye kept his fidelitie, nor stoutlie maintained his treason. *Richard* tooke to wife the daughter and heyre of *Roger Mortimer*, whose mother *Phillip* was sole daughter and heyre to *Lionell* Duke of Clarence, the third sonne of King *Edward* the thyrde, by which title and discent, his posteritie claimed the Crowne and kingdome of this realme from the successours of King *Henrie*, as heereafter more at large shall be declared.

Charles King of Fraunce lost no time all this while in making preparation to invade England: and to that end had now rayled an armie royall, which was brought downe into Picardie, and in a readinesse to haue beene transported. But it is verye like that this hast for the deliuerance of King *Richard* did the more hasten his death: vppon newes whereof the Frenchmen perceiuing their purpose for his restitution to be to no purpose, gaue ouer the enterprise; some being grieved that the occasion was lost of making spoile of so plentiful a cuntry, others being well content to be discharged of that hope together with the hazard whervpon it depended. Shortlie after the French King sent a solemne Embassage into England, to treat, or rather intreat, that Lady *Isabell* his daughter, who had bin espoused to King *Richard*, might with her dowrie bee restored to him againe. King *Henrie* most honourable receiued these Embassadours, and gaue in answer, that he would speedelie send his Commissioners to Calice, which should fullye commune and conclude with them, both of this and other weightie affayres concerning both the realmes.

Not long after he sent *Edward* Duke of Yorke, and *Henrie* Earle of Northumberland to Calice: Also the French

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King

King sent the Duke of Burbone and certaine others to Bulleine. These Commissioners did often meete, sometimes at one place, and sometimes at another: the Frenchmen especially required, that Lady *Isabell* should be restored, shewing that King *Charles* her Father had giuen in charge, that this before all matters, and without this nothing should be concluded. On the other side the Englishmen desired that she might be married to *Henry* Prince of Wales King *Henries* eldest Sonne, a man answerable to her in equall degree both of bloud and of yeeres: but the French King denied that he would any more ioyne affinity with the English nation, whose aliance had once so vnfortunately succeeded: that they entred into speech of a perpetuall peace, but heereto the Frenchmen would not agree. In the end it was concluded that Lady *Isabell* should be deliuered to King *Charles* her Father but without Dower; because the marriage betweene King *Richard* and her, was neuer consummate: by reason wherof she was not dowable by the very treaty of the marriage. Also the surcease of armes which foure yeeres before had beene made with King *Richard* for the terme of 30 yeeres, was continued and confirmed for the time then vnexpyred. Some authors affirme that a newe truce was taken, but these also are at difference: for some report that it was during the life of both the Kinges, others that it was but for a short time, which hath the more apperaunce of truth, by reason of the open hostilitye which the yeere following did breake forth betweene the two realmes.

Shortly after King *Henrie* sent the Lady *Isabell* vnder the conducte of Lorde *Thomas Percy* Earle of Worcester, in royall estate to Calice: she was accompanied with a great troupe of honourable personages, both men and women; and carried with her all the Jewelles and plate which shee brought into England, with a great surple sage of rich giftes bestowed

K. Henrie the fourth. 139

bestowed vpon her by the king: at Calice she was receiued by the Earle of S. Paule, Leiuetenant for the French king in Picardy, and by him was conducted to king *Charles* her Father, who afterwarde gaue her in marriage to *Charles*, sonne to *Lewes* Duke of Orleance: and so was eyther rest or respite of wars procured in Fraunce, whilest neerer stirres might be brought to some stay.

For within the realme, the fire and fury of the late sedition was scarcely quenched and quiet, but (that the common wealth should not cease to be torne by multiplying of diuisions, one streight succeeding another) the Welshmen, vpon aduantage of the doubtfull and vnsetled estate of king *Henrie*, resolved to breake and make a defection; before eyther the king could ground his authority, or the people frame themselves to a new obedience: and hauing learned that common causes must be maintained by concord, they sought by assemblies to establish an association, and to set vp theyr owne principality againe.

To this purpose they created for theyr Prince, *Owen Glendor* an Esquire of Wales, a factious person, and apt to set vp diuision and strife: and although hee was of no great state in birth; yet was hee great and stately in stomacke: of an aspiring spirit, and in wit somewhat aboue the ordynarie of that vntrayned people: bould, craftie, actiue, and as he list to bend his minde, mischieuous or industrious in equall degree, in desires immoderate, and rashlye aduenturous, in his young yeeres hee was brought vp to the studye of the Common Lawe of the Realme, at London: and when he came to mans estate, besides a naturall fiercenesse and hatred to the English name, hee was particularlye incensed by a priuate suite, for certayne landes in controuersie, betweene the Lord Gray of Ruthen and him; wherein his tytle was ouer-thrown; and being a man by nature not of the myldest,

by this prouocation he was made sauadge and rough; determining eyther to repayre or to reuenge his losse, by setting the whole state on fire. Also his expence and liberalitie had been too excessiue for a great man to endure, which brought him to barenesse too base for a meane man to beare: and therefore he must of necessitie doe and dare somewhat, and more daunger there was in soft and quiet dealing, then in hazarding rashlie. Heerewith opportunitie was then likewise presented: for troublesome times are most fit for great attempts, and some likelyhood there was, whilest the King and the Lordes were hard at variance, that harme might easelie be wrought to them both. Vpon these causes his desire was founded, and vpon these troubles his hope. But that his aspiring and ambitious humour might beare some shew of honest meaning, he pretended to his countrymen the recouerie of theyr free estate, the desire whereof was so naturally sweete, that euen wilde Birdes will rather liue hardlye at large in the ayre, then bee daintily dyeted by others in a Cage: and opportunitie was at that time fitly offered, or else neuer to be expected, to rid them of theyr thraldome, falselie and coulourable intituled a peace; whilest the one Kings power was waining, and the other not yet fullye waxen, and eyther of them grew weake by wasting the other: neither was there any difference which of them should preuaile, sith the warre touched both alike, insomuch as the overthrow would ruine the one, and the victorie the other: So hee exhorted them to take courage and armes: and first to kill all the English within their territories, for libertie and Lordes could not endure together: then to resume their auncient customes and lawes, whereby more then armes, commonwealths are established and enlarged: so should they bee a people vncorrupt, without admixtion of forreine manners or blood; and so should they forget seruitude, and eyther liue at libertie, or else perhaps, bee Lordes ouer

ouer other.

Heerevppon many flocked vnto him, the best for loue of libertie, the basest for desire of bootie and spoile, insomuch as in short time hee became commaunder of competent forces to stand openly in the fieldes. And being desirous to make some prooue of his prowesse, hee sharply set vppon his ould aduertarie *Reignold* Lorde Grey of Ruthen, whose possessions he wasted and spoyled, slew many of his men, and tooke himselfe prisoner; yet gaue him faire and friendly entertainment, and promised him releasment, if he would take his daughter to wife. This hee desired, not so much for neede of his abilitie or ayde, as supposing that the name and countenance of a Lorde, would giue reputation to the house that was then but in rising: But the Lorde Greye at the first did not so much refuse as scorne the offer: affirming that he was no warde, to haue his marriage obruded vppon him. Well (sayde *Owen Glendore*) although you bee not my warde, yet are you in my warde: and the suing of your liuerie will cost double the marriage money that elsewhere you shall procure. The Lord Grey being not very riche to discharge his ransome, and seeing no other meanes of his deliverance, at the last accepted the condition, and tooke the damosell to wife; notwithstanding his deceitfull Father in lawe trifled out the time of his enlargement vntill hee dyed.

The Welshmen being confident vppon this successe, began to breake into the borders of Herefordshire, and to make spoyle and pray of the Countrey: against whom Lord *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of Marche, who for feare of King *Henrie* had withdrawne himselfe (as hath been declared) to Wiggmore Castle, assembled all the Gentlemen of the Countrey, and meeting with the Welshmen; they ioyned together a sharpe and cruell conflict: not in forme of a loose skirmish, but standing still and maintaining their place, they

endeauoured with maine might to breake and beare downe one another. The courage and resolution of both sides was alike, but the Welshmen were superiour both for number and direction: for they were conducted by one knowne leader, who with his presence euery where assisted at neede, enflaming his Soldiours, some with shame and reproofe, others with praise and encouragement, all with hope and large promises: but the Englishmen had no certaine generall, but many confused commaunders, yea, euery man was a commaunder to himselfe, pressing forward or drawing backe, as his owne courage or feare did mooue him. Insomuch as no doubt they had taken a great blowe that day by theyr ill gouerned bouldnesse, had not *Owen Glendor* presently vpon the breaking vp of the field, ceased to pursue the execution, and shewed himselfe more able to get a victorie, then skilfull to vse it. But euen to his side the victorie had cost blood, and many of those which remayned, were eyther wounded or wearie: the night was neere also, and they were in their enemies cuntry; by which meanes our men had libertie to retire rather then runne away, no man being hoat to follow the chase. They lost of their company about a thousand men, who sold their liues at such a price, that when manhood had doone the hardest against them, certaine mannish, or rather deuillish women, whose malice is immortal, exercised a vaine reuenge vpon their dead bodies; in cutting off theyr priue partes and theyr noses, whereof the one they stuffed into theyr mouthes, and pressed the other betweene their buttocks; and would not suffer their mangled carcasses to be committed to the earth, vntill they were redeemed with a great summe of money. By which cruell couetousnesse, the faction lost reputation and credite with the moderate sorte of their owne people; suspecting that it was not libertie but licentiousnesse, which was desired: and that subiection to such vnhumaine

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mindes would bee more insupportable then anye bondage.

In this conflict the Earle of Marche was taken prisoner and fettered with chaines, and cast into a deepe and vile dungeon. The King was solicited by many noble men, to vse some meanes for his deliuerance; but hee would not heare on that care; hee could rather haue wished him and his two sisters in heauen, for then the onely blemish to his title had beene out of the way: and no man can tell whether this mischaunce did not preferue him from a greater mischiefe.

Owen Glendor by the prosperous successe of his actions, was growne now more harde to be dealt with, and hautelie minded, and stood euen vpon termes of equalitie with the King: wherevpon he proceeded further to inuade the Marches of Wales on the West side of Seuerne; where he burnt many villages and townes, slew much people, and returned with great prey, and praises of his adherents. Thus he ceased not this yeere to infect the borderers on euery side, amongst whom he found so weake resistance, that he seemed to exercise rather a spoile then a warre. For King *Henrie* was then detained with his chiefe forces in another more dangerous seruice, which besides these former vexations and hazards, this first yeere of his reigne happened vnto him.

For the Scottes knowing that changes were times most apte for attempt, and vpon aduantage of the absence of all the chiefe English borderers, partly by occasion of the Parliament, and partly by reason of the plague which was very grievous that yeere in the North partes of the realme: they made a roade into the countrey of Northumberland, and there committed great hauocke and harine. Also on a certaine night they sodainly set vpon the Castle of Werke, the captain wherof *sir Thomas Grey*, was then one of the knights of the Parliament: & hauing slaine the watch partly a sleepe,
partlye

partlye amased with feare, they brake in and surprised the place: which they held a while, and at the last spoyled and ruined and then departed. Whilest further harmes were feared this passed with light regarde. But when great perils were past, as if noe woorse misfortune could haue befallen, then was it much sorrowed and lamented. And in reuenge thereof, the Englishmen inuaded and spoyled certaine llandes of Orkney: and so the losse was in some sorte repayred: yet (as in reprisals of warre it commonlye falleth out) neyther against those particular persons which committed the harme, nor for those which suffred it: but one for another were both recompenced and reuenged. Againe the Scottes set soorth a flete, vnder the conduct of Sir *Robert Logan*, with direction to attempt as occasion should be offered: his first purpose was against our Fishermen; but before hee came to any action, he was encountred by certaine English ships, and the greatest part of his flete taken. Thus peace still continuing betweene both the realmes, a kinde of theeuish hostilitie was dayly practised, which afterwarde brake out into open warre vpon this occasion.

George of Dunbarre Earle of the Marches of Scotland, had betrothed *Elisabeth* his daughter to *David*, the sonne and heyre apparant of *Robert* King of Scottes, and in regarde of that marriage to bee shortlie celebrated and finished, hee deliuered into the Kings hands a great summe of money for his Daughters dowrie. But *Archibalde* Earle Dowglasse disdayning that the Earle of Marches bloud should be preferred before his, so wrought with King *Robert*, that Prince *David* his sonne refused the Earle of Marches Daughter, and tooke to wife *Mariell* Daughter to the Earle Dowglasse: Earle *George* not vsed to offers of disgrace, could hardlye enforce his patience to endure this scorn: and first hee demanded restitution of his money,

not

not so much for care to obey, as for desire to please the
 cause of breaking his allegiance. The King would not
 to him neither pay nor promise, but by his off
 with many delation and vaine delays, with scorn hee
 God with all his familie into England, not to be receiued
 Northumberland, intending with open display his reuenge
 reuenge his indignitie, all to couer his losse. The English
 men with open armes enterbeynted the opportunity, with
 whole helpe and assistance the Earle made diuise insurin
 ons into Scotland, where he bent to say Thomas, and slue
 much people, and so he purchased with his worke great
 abundance of booty and spoile and in his way, when
 Heere vpon King Rulers deputed the Earle of his ho
 nour, seized all his goods and possessions, and wrote vnto
 King Henry, as hee would haue the truce betwene them
 any longer to continue; eyther to deliuer him the
 Earle of Marche and other mayors to his person and her
 or else to banish him the realme of England. King Henry
 perceiuing such iarres to logger betwene the two realmes,
 that the peace was already as it were out of ioyne, determi
 ned not to loose the benefite of the discontented subjects of
 his enemy: wher vpon hee returned answer to the He
 ralde of Scotland, that hee was neither warre of peace nor
 fearefull of warre; and ready as occasion should charge, ey
 ther to hold the one, or haize the other, but the words of
 a Prince was of great weight; and therefore hee had
 graunted a safe conduct to the Earle of Marche and his
 companie, it were an impeachment to his honour, without
 iust cause to violate the same. Vpon this answer the King
 of Scotland did presently proclaime open warre against the
 King of England, with blood, fire, and sword.

King Henry thought it policie, rather to begin the warre
 in his enemies countrie, then to expect it in his owne: be
 cause the land which is the seat of the warre, dooth com

mostly furnish both sides with necessarie supply; the friend by contribution, and the enemy by spoyle. Therefore sending certaine troopes of horsemen before him, both to espie and to induce an vncertaine terror vpon the enemy, hee entred into Scotland with a puissant armie; where with hee burnt many Villages and Townes; cast downe diuerse Castles, and ruined a great part of the Townes of Edenborough and Lith, sparing nothing but Churches and religious houses: so that in all places as he passed, the spectacle was ouglie and grislie which hee left behind him; bodyes torne in peeces, managled and purrified limmes, the ayre infected with stincke, the ground imbrued with corruption and blood, the countrie wasted, the Grasse and Corne troden downe and spoyled; insomuch as a man would haue sayde that warre is an exercise not of manhood, but of inhumanitie. They that fledde before the armie, filled all places with feare and terrour, extolling aboute troche the English forces, to diminish thereby their shame in running from them.

In the end of September the King besieged the Castle of Maydens in Edenborough; wherein were *David Duke of Roxbarye* Prince of the realme, and *Archibald Earle Dowgall*; the inconstancie of the one; and ambition of the other, were principall causes of all this warre.

During this siege, *Robert Duke of Albany*, who was appointed gouernour of the Realme, because the King was sicke and vnable to rule, sent an Herauld vnto *Henry*; assuring him vpon his honour, that if hee would abyde but five dayes at the most, hee would giue him bataile; and eyther remoue the siege, or loose his life.

The King was well pleased with these tidings, and rewarded the Herauld with a gowne of filke and a chaine of gould, and promised him in the worde of a Prince, to abide there

there and expect the gouernour, during the tyme by him prefixed.

The sixe dayes passed, almoste sixe tymes ouer and no more newes was heard of the Gouernour, eyther by presence or by messenger. Winter came on, and victualle fayled, the Country was colde and fruitelesse, and it rayned every day in great aboundance: so that partly by hunger, partly by distemperature of the weather, the Soldiers began to dye of the Flixie; it is verie like that these accidentes stayed the Gouernour from performing his promise, for pollicy was against it, to hazard his men in the fiele, when winter and want, two forceable spes, had giuen the charge vpon his enemyes: certayne it is, that they moued the King to remooue his siege, and so depart out of Scotland, without any battaile or skirmish offred.

Both the Wardens of the Marches were all this time in Scotland with the King: vpon which aduantage the Scots did breake into Northumberland, and burnt certaine townes in Hamborough shire. The English men were speedilie vp in armes; but the Scottes more speedily made theyr returne, or else no doubt they had been met with and encountered.

Agayne when King *Henry* had discharged his armie, the Scottes beeing desirous not so much of lyfe as of reuenge, made a sodayne roade into England, vnder the conduct of *Sir Thomas Halibarton* of Dirliton, and *Sir Patrickke Hebburne* of Hales: but all the harme which they wrought dyd rather waken then weaken the Englishmen: and they themselues were somewhat encouraged, but nothing enryched, by that whych they got.

Not long after, *Sir Patrickke Hebburne*, beeing lifted vp in desire and hope, resolved to vndertake a greater enter-

enterprise the people, which were daily led to by prosperous successe, in great companies resorted to him: but hee was fowle to haue more followers in the poyles, with hee thought should neede in the danger: therefore with a competent armie of the men of Englishdeane, he invaded Northumberland, where hee made great spoils, and looted his Souldiours with prisoners and pray: There was no question made what perill might be in the returne: Therefore they marched loofely and lie at the first in a place of great security, not keeping themselves to their enignes and order: but the Earle of Northumberlands Vice-warden, and other Gentlemen of the borders in good arraye, set upon them at a towne in Northumberland called *Welbire*: The Scots rallied as well as the fordaimeffe did ferue, and valiantly refused the charge, so that the battaile was sharpe and cruell, and continued a good time, with great mortallitie: In the ende the enemyes ranckes grew thicke, as being rather confusedly shuffled together, then ordealy and firme compacted: and when the Vice-warden sawe them wearie in the shock, and yeelding vnder his hand, with a compaign which purposely laye about him for sodaine disputes and chaunces of warre, he fiercely charged and disordered them. Sir *Patrick Hebburne* being cleane destitute both of counsaile and courage, ranne vp and downe from one place to another, commanding many things, and presently forbidding their againe: and the lesse of force in directions were, the offener did hee charge them: and as it happened in lost and desperate cases, euery man became a commander, and none a putter in execution: so the ranks loosed and brake, and could not bee reunited, the victor hoatly pursuing the advantage. Then might you haue seene a grieuous spectacle, pursuing, killing, wounding and taking, and killing those that were taken, where better were offered: euery where weapons, and dead boddies, and mingled limbe

laye

laye scattered: and sometimes in those that were slaine, appeared at their death both anger and valure. Sir *Patrickke Hebburne* thought of nothing lesse then eyther fleeing or yeelding, but thrusting among the thickest of his enemyes, honourably ended his life. Many other of his linage, and the flower of all Loughdeane were likewise slaine. There were also slain Sir *Robert* and *William* *Woodburne*, Sir *William* *Laurel*, and *Thomas* *Hadinton* Esquires, and a great multitude of common Soldiours. On the English

side no great number was slaine; and those

of no great seruice and degree. And

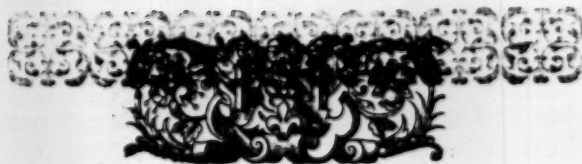
with these troubles the first

yeere of King *Henrie* the

fourth ended.

FINIS.

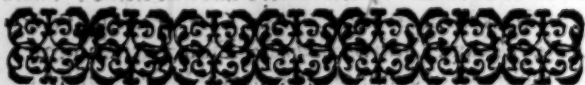
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LONDON.

Printed by *John Wolfe*, and are
to be sold at his shop in Popes
head alley, neere the
Exchange.

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